This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

6/

Sir John Dashwood King.

828
T2870
B8

Dominus Gulielmus Temple Eques Baronettus
Ser.mi et Pot.mi Mag.r Britanniæ Regis ad Ord.s Fœd.ti
Belgij Legatus Extr.s et apud Tractatus pacis tam
Aquisgrani quam Neomagi Legat.s Mediat.s Ejusdem
Ser.mi Regis a Secretioribus Consilijs . 1679

Printed for W. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-Noster Row.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE
AND
NEGOTIATIONS
OF
Sir *W. TEMPLE*, Bar.

CONTAINING

The most important OCCURRENCES, and the most SECRET SPRINGS of AFFAIRS in CHRISTENDOM, from the Year 1665 to the Year 1681.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of Sir *W. TEMPLE*'s WRITINGS.

——Hi mores, hac duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit, servare modum, finemque tueri,
Naturamque sequi, patriaque impendere vitam;
Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
Lucan. De Bell. Civ. l. 2.

LONDON:
Printed for W. TAYLOR at the Ship in *Paternoster-Row*. M.DCC.XIV.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

AND

NEGOTIATIONS

OF

Sir W. TEMPLE, Bart.

CONTAINING

The most Important Transactions and Occurrences, and Treaties, in Europe, during the Time of his Employments, from the Year 1665 to the Year 1679.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of Sir W. TEMPLE's WRITINGS.

LONDON:

Printed for T. Ward, at the Ship in Fleet-Street. MDCCXXXIV.

English
Dobell
2-11-25
11280

THE PREFACE.

THE Recording the Lives of Great and Eminent Men has ever been eſteem'd the moſt uſeful and beneficial Part of Hiſtory: For, over and above the Debt of Gratitude, which Biographers pay to the Memories of their Worthies, they thereby kindle a generous Emulation and Deſire of Praiſe in virtuous Minds, and ſet up noble Patterns for the Imitation both of their Cotemporaries and Poſterity. Hence it is that the Accounts the judicious Plutarch has left us of the moſt celebrated Greeks and Romans, are juſtly reckon'd among the moſt valuable Remains of Venerable Antiquity; and that, after the Example of Plutarch, ſeveral able Writers, both Antient and Modern, have given Immor-

tality to *ſuch as had ſignaliz'd themſelves by their Fortitude, Virtue, Wiſdom, and natural Abilities*; *either by* Military Atchievements *or* Civil Inſtitutions; *either by* uſeful Inventions *or* ingenious Performances.

As among the various Claſſes *of Men, they who by their ſuperior Genius and Knowledg, have been thought qualify'd to govern the reſt, claim and deſerve the firſt Rank*; *ſo the particular Accounts of ſuch Men's Lives as have had a ſhare in the Management of Publick Affairs, are far more* Inſtructive *and* Entertaining *than* General Hiſtories: *The latter, for the moſt part, being made up of bare jejune Relations of* Publick Tranſactions; *whereas the other acquaint us with the Characters of the principal* Actors, *and the moſt* Secret Springs *of their Actions.*

I have often wonder'd that a Perſon ſo famous, in ſeveral Capacities, as Sir William Temple; *one who has ſo well deſerv'd of* Mankind *in general, and of his* Country *in particular*; *one who has left ſo great a Name in the* Commonwealth of Learning, *ſhould yet want an* Hiſtorian *to tranſmit an intire Account of his* Negotiations *and* Writings *to After-Ages*: *And having, ſome Years, united*

in

in vain for such an Account, fir'd, at last, with Indignation at their Negligence, whose Province it seem'd to be, to do Justice to that Great Man, I resolv'd to attempt it my self.

Nor was the Seasonableness *of such a Design a small Incentive to this my Enterprize. I seriously reflected on the* portentous Tendency *of our late* unhappy Divisions; *and on the fatal Consequences of a furious* Paper-War, *which for these four Years past has been maintain'd with equal* Animosity *and* Rancour *by both Parties. And, on the other hand, I consider'd, that the fiercest* Popular Contentions *have often been compos'd by the Interposition of a single Person, who by the Dignity of his Appearance, and sober Arguments, asswag'd the Rage of the* unthinking Multitude, *and brought them back to their Senses. This is admirably well expres'd by the* Latin Poet:

Ac veluti magno in Populo, cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces & saxa volant, furor arma ministrat:
Tum Pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexêre, silent, arrectisque auribus astant,
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet.
Virgil. Æn. Lib. 1.

Thus

Thus Engliſh'd by Mr. *Dryden*:

'As when in Tumults riſe th' ignoble Croud,
'Mad are their Motions, and their Tongues are loud;
'And Stones and Brands in rattling Volleys fly,
'And all the ruſtick Arms that Fury can ſupply:
'If then ſome grave and pious Man appear,
'They huſh their Noiſe, and lend a liſt'ning Ear;
'He ſooths with ſober words their angry Mood,
'And quenches their innate Deſire of Blood.

It were invidious and impolitick in one, who endeavours to level the way towards an Accommodation, *to appear ſo much a Party, as to hint which of the two contending Sides is in the right: But this I will adventure to ſay, that* Sir William Temple *appears to me to be the moſt* proper, unexceptionable, *and* impartial Judge *in the preſent* Controverſy. *He ever was a zealous Stickler for the* Eſtabliſh'd Church *and* Monarchy, *and therefore not to be ſuſpected by our* Modern Tories: *He was, at the ſame time, a conſtant Enemy to* Popery *and a* French Intereſt; *and therefore not obnoxious to the* Whigs. *And if this Axiom,* Quæ conveniunt

S^r Temple

niunt unde Tertio conveniunt inter ſe, *holds true in* Politicks, *as well as in* Logick; *both* Tories *and* Whigs, *who equally pretend to* aſſert the Conſtitution *in* Church *and* State, *and to act for the true Intereſt of* Great Britain, *ought to refer their unhappy Diſputes to his Umpirage and Deciſion, who, by common Conſent, is allow'd to have been a* True Patriot; *and whoſe* Notions *will be the* Standard *of our* Politicks, *at leaſt with reſpect to* Foreign States, *as long as* Great Britain *keeps its preſent Situation.*

I ſhall not detain the Readers either with giving them a formal Account of my Performance, or making affected Excuſes for its Imperfections: Thus much, however, I think neceſſary to let them know, for their ſatisfaction, that beſides Sir William Temple's *Works, which alone might have ſuffic'd towards the Account I intended of his* Publick Life *and* Writings, *I have illuſtrated the ſame with many curious Paſſages extracted from the Letters and Memoirs of Count* D'Eſtrades, *the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters, and other printed Books; over and above ſeveral Particulars which I have learn'd from Sir* William

Temple's

Temple's *intimate Friends. Upon the whole matter, as I wanted no* Materials *towards this* Work, *ſo whatever* Defects *ſhall appear to be in it, I muſt be content to bear the* Blame; *and reſt ſatisfy'd with the* honeſt Intention *of contributing all that lay in my Power to the recovering ſome People from their* Infatuation, *by a* tacit Parallel *between* former *and* late Tranſactions; *which I judged to be the beſt way towards the* reconciling *our* unhappy Diviſions.

THE

THE LIFE, NEGOTIATIONS, &c. OF *Sir* WILLIAM TEMPLE *Bar.*

SIR *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, one of the greateſt Stateſmen for foreign Affairs, and one of the *beſt Patriots* that ever *England* bore; was the Son of Sir *John Temple* of *Sheen*, Maſter of the Rolls, and Privy-Counſellor in *Ireland*, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. by *Mary*, Daughter of Mr. *Hammond*, and Siſter of Dr. *Hammond*, one of the brighteſt Luminaries of the Church of *England*. His Grandfather, Sir *William Temple*, Secretary to the famous Earl of *Eſſex* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, was a younger Son of the ancient Family of the *Temples*, of *Temple-Hall* in *Leiceſterſhire*. This our Sir *William Temple*, married *Dorothy* the Daughter of Sir *Peter Osborne*, Governor of

Jerſey for King *Charles* I. by whom he had Nine Children: but only one Son, *John* of *Moor-Park* in *Hampſhire*, liv'd to a Man's Eſtate, and came to an unfortunate End; and one Daughter, *Diana*, ſurviv'd him. He diſcover'd from his Youth, a ſolid penetrating Genius, and a wonderful deſire of Knowledge, which his Father took care to cultivate by all the Advantages of a liberal Education. When he had paſs'd the *Latin* School, he was ſent to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he improv'd himſelf in all the Parts of Human Learning; and made himſelf perfect Maſter of the two moſt uſeful modern Languages, the *French* and the *Spaniſh*; ſo that he may be juſtly accounted the beſt Philologer of his Time: Of which more particular Notice ſhall be taken, when we come to ſpeak of the quiet and ſerene part of his Life.

He paſs'd 20 Years of it in publick Thoughts and Buſineſs, *viz.* from the Thirty Second to the Fifty Second Year of his Age; which he took to be the part of a Man's Life, fitteſt to be dedicated to the Service of his Prince and Country; the reſt being uſually too much taken up with his Pleaſures or his Eaſe. His native Love of his Country, and its ancient legal Conſtitution, would not ſuffer him either to enter upon any Publick Affairs, till the way was open for the King's Reſtoration in 1660, or to continue in Buſineſs any longer than the Year 1680; when the *Popiſh* Faction having got the Aſcendant, he ſent his Son to acquaint the King with his Reſolutions, to paſs the remainder of his Life, like as good a private Subject as any he had, but never to meddle with any Publick Employment.

King *Charles* II. having, in the Year 1665, declar'd War againſt the *Dutch*, Sir *William Temple* was, in the Month of * *Auguſt*, ſent to the Biſhop

* *See his Letters*, Vol. I.

of

of *Munſter*, upon an Overture made by that Prince, to enter into an Alliance with his Majeſty againſt the *Hollanders*; and having neither Train nor Character, perform'd his Commiſſion with ſuch Dexterity, Secrecy, and Diſpatch, that in three Nights, (for he kept cloſe in the day-time) he perfected and ſign'd the Treaty: and then return'd to *Bruſſels*, where Alderman *Backwell* made the firſt and great Payment of the Subſidies the King was to give the Biſhop, without the leaſt Umbrage given to the *Dutch*. After this, he had ſeveral private Conferences with the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; who repreſented to him the mutual Neceſſity of a Conjunction between *England* and *Spain*, upon Advice that the *French* were marching to the Aſſiſtance of the *Hollander:* which Overtures the Court of *England* thought fit to entertain, and thereupon ſent Orders to Sir *William* to take on him the Character of Reſident; which accordingly he did, *Nov.* 19. 1665. N. S. And, on the other hand, the King diſpatch'd the Earl of *Sandwich*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Spain*.

In the mean time, the Biſhop of *Munſter* being preſs'd by the *Dutch*, the *French*, and the *Brandenburghers*, neither the Emperor, nor *Spain* contributing any thing towards his Aſſiſtance; and *England* being backward in paying the remaining part of the Subſidies they had promis'd him, he hearken'd to the Propoſals of an Accommodation. Sir *William Temple* firſt wrote to him a pathetick Letter, (*March* 19. N. S. 1666.) and about a Month after took a Journey to *Munſter*, to endeavour to keep him true to his Alliance, but in vain. Upon his return to *Bruſſels*, being inform'd that Mr. *Colbert*, the *French* Miniſter, was to go to *Munſter* to hire the Troops the Biſhop deſign'd to diſmiſs, Sir *William*

liam repreſented by Letter (*April* 27. N. S.) to that Prince, *How unjuſt, how treacherous, and how ungrateful it would appear, for thoſe Troops that were rais'd and arm'd by the King his Maſter's Mony, to enter into the Service of a foreign Prince, now at open Enmity with* England; *by which means they became* Rebels, *rather than Enemies:* And therefore deſir'd, *that thoſe Troops be plac'd in the Service of the King of* Spain, *who had been long his Britannick Majeſty's Friend and Confederate.* Some time after this, the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Munſter* Envoys met at *Cleve*, and there concluded a Peace under the Mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, notwithſtanding Sir *William*'s Endeavours to thwart it: for which purpoſe, with great Difficulty, Trouble and Danger, he repair'd to *Munſter*, paſſing for a *Spaniſh* Envoy; the Treaty being ſign'd by that time he got thither. The Biſhop would have perſuaded him to ſtay at *Munſter*, till he had repreſented his Highneſs's Reaſons to the King, and receiv'd his Anſwer: but Sir *William* finding that his Deſign was to keep him as long as he could, while his Agent at *Bruſſels* receiv'd Bills of Exchange from *England*; and judging that no other Service was to be done his Majeſty in this Affair, beſides ſaving as much Mony as he could, refus'd to comply. The Biſhop finding him immoveable, adviſed him however, in pretended Kindneſs, to go by *Cologne*, to avoid the *Dutch* and *Brandenburghers* that were poſted to intercept him. Sir *William* ſeem'd to be oblig'd by his Care, but wiſhing himſelf well out of it, went away privately that very Night; rode hard, and without any ſtop, to a Village eight Leagues from *Munſter:* and having baited there an Hour, and pretended to go to Bed, purſued his Journey in Diſguiſe through the wildeſt Country, and that Night reach'd the Territories of *Nieuburgh*; from whence he return'd to *Bruſſels*, and had the good Fortune to come time enough

enough to ſtop ſeveral Bills of Exchange, that would otherwiſe have fallen into the hands of the Biſhop's Agent, and to forbid the Payment of the reſt he receiv'd in his Abſence. Thus ended the whole Affair of *Munſter*, that made ſo much Noiſe, and rais'd ſo much Expectation in the World. However, Sir *William Temple* concerted ſo well with the Biſhop, that he engag'd him to ſend 5 or 6000 of his beſt Troops into the *Spaniſh* Service, upon the Marquis *de Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s paying fifty Thouſand Pattacoons; and obliging himſelf to reſtore them upon Re-payment of the like Sum, whenever the Biſhop ſhould have need of them: which ſpoil'd Monſieur *Colbert*'s Errand to *Munſter*. Nor was Sir *William Temple*'s Reſidence at *Bruſſels* uſeleſs: For the Treaty between *England* and *Spain* having met with Obſtructions at *Madrid*, by reaſon King *Charles* II. could not be induc'd to abandon the Intereſt of his new Friend and Ally, the King of *Portugal*; Sir *William* gave the *Britiſh* Court very Seaſonable Hints and Advertiſements, concerning the Affairs and Miniſters of *Spain*.

By this time the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* growing weary of the War, and the wiſeſt in both Nations ſenſible that the *French* had inflam'd and fomented the Quarrel, with deſign to weaken the Maritime Powers, and thereby have an Opportunity of making themſelves Maſters of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; both Parties readily embrac'd the Offers of *Sweden* for mediating a Peace. Hereupon they ſent their reſpective Ambaſſadors to *Breda*, where the Paces of the Negotiation being quickned, both by the *French* ſudden Invaſion of *Flanders*, without a Declaration of War, and by the Conſternation the *Dutch* Fleet ſtruck on the unguarded Coaſts of *England*; the Treaty was ſign'd on the $\frac{31}{21}$ of *July* 1667. Two Months after the Concluſion of this Peace, Sir *William Temple*'s Siſter taking a ſtrong Fancy to a Jour-

ney

ney to *Holland*, to ſee a Country ſhe had heard ſo much of, he was willing to give her that Satisfaction, after the melancholy Scene they had at *Bruſſels* ever ſince the *French* Invaſion of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and ſo went thither *Incognito*.

While he was at the *Hague*, he made a private Viſit to Monſieur *de Wit*, who told him, *He had receiv'd a Character of him to his Advantage, both from* Munſter *and* Bruſſels; *and was very glad to be acquainted with him at a time, when both Nations were grown Friends, and had equal Reaſon to look about them, upon what had lately happen'd in* Flanders; *ſeem'd to regret the late unhappy Quarrel between* England *and* Holland, *which had made way for this new War among their Neighbours; laid the Fault of* England *wholly upon Sir* George Downing, and *gave Sir* William Temple *the Particulars*, together with ſome of his Thoughts about the preſent Poſture of Affairs. This occaſional Interview laid the Foundation of the great Intimacy and Confidence that grew afterwards between that wiſe and ſagacious Miniſter and Sir *William Temple*; who, ſoon after his return to *Bruſſels*, receiv'd an Expreſs from the King, commanding him to come immediately into *England*; to take the *Hague* in his way; and there, upon the Credit of his late Viſit to Monſieur *De Wit*, to 'make him another, and let him know, 'his Majeſty had commanded him to do ſo, on 'purpoſe to inform himſelf of the Opinion he had, 'concerning the *French* late Invaſion of *Flanders*; 'their great Succeſs there, the appearances of ſo 'much greater the enſuing Spring; and the 'Thoughts he had of what was the true Intereſt 'of his Majeſty, the States, and the reſt of Chri-'ſtendom; that the King might thereby be ena-'bled to take ſuch Meaſures as might be neceſſary 'for him in this Conjuncture.' Sir *William* obey'd this Summons, and ſpoke with Monſieur *De Wit*, who

who enter'd into great Confidence with him, and told him, That if the *French* ſhould carry *Flanders*, as they very well might in another Campaign, by the Weakneſs and Diſorders in the Government of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, the *Dutch* muſt fall to be a Maritime Province to *France*, upon the beſt Terms they could; the Empire would expect to ſee the *French* ſoon at the *Rhine*, and thereby Maſters of four Electors: And what a Condition *England* would be left in, by ſuch an Acceſſion of Maritime Forces, as well as Provinces, to ſuch a Power as *France* was already, was but too eaſy to gueſs: Adding, that the *Dutch* could not but be exaſperated at this Invaſion of *Flanders*, both as dangerous, and as ſcornful, to them in particular; The *French*, till the very time their Troops were in full March, having given conſtant Aſſurances to the States, both at the *Hague* and *Paris*, that they would not invade *Flanders*, without firſt taking their Meaſures upon it with their High-Mightineſſes.

Sir *William Temple* made his Report of this Conference to the King, and gave Monſieur *De Wit* the Character he thought he deſerv'd, of a very able and faithful Miniſter to his State, and a ſincere Dealer; very different from what Sir *George Downing* had given of him, who would have him paſs for ſuch another as himſelf, but only a craftier Man in the Trade than he. The *Engliſh* Court, particularly the Lord Keeper, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, and the Earl of *Arlington*, being as much provok'd as the *Dutch*; not only upon the Proſpect of this new Danger, but alſo upon the *French* having declar'd War againſt *England* in favour of *Holland*, without the leaſt Pretence of Injury, or other Occaſion; his Majeſty, on the firſt day of *January*, N. S. 1668. came to a Reſolution, to enter into a ſtrict League with *Holland*, and to endeavour to extend it to a *Triple Alliance*, by engaging *Sweden* in the ſame Meaſures,

Meaſures, for the mutual Defence of the three Allies, the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and the Safety and Repoſe of Chriſtendom. The Management of theſe intended Treaties was thereupon committed to Sir *William Temple*, who immediately return'd to * *Holland* with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Upon his firſt Conference with Mr. *De Wit*, he told him, 'That the King gueſs'd by the general Carriage and Diſcourſes of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *London*, the States were not willing to ſee *Flanders* over-run by *France*, but could not find they had any thing poſitive to ſay to him upon that Subject. That he had therefore ſent him (Sir *William*) ſome time before, privately and plainly to tell him his Mind upon it, as to a Man of Honour, and who he believ'd would make no ill uſe of it; and if he thought fit, to know his Sentiments upon that Affair. That for his Majeſty, he neither thought it for his own Intereſt nor Safety, nor for that of the States, or of Chriſtendom in general, that *Flanders* ſhould be loſt; and therefore was reſolv'd to do his utmoſt to preſerve it, provided the States were of the ſame mind, and that it might be done in conjunction between them; and to that end deſired to know, whether the States would enter into an Alliance with him, both Defenſive between themſelves, and Offenſive againſt *France*, for the Preſervation of *Flanders*. That Monſieur *De Wit* might remember his Anſwer was, *Firſt, much Applauſe of his Majeſty's Reſolution; great Acknowledgment of his Confidence towards him by that Communication, and an Aſſurance that the States would be of the ſame mind, as to the Preſervation of* Flanders; *which was their*

* Jan. 16. N. S. 1668.

neareſt

'*neareſt Intereſt, next their own. That thus, he found*
'*both his Majeſty and the States had the ſame Mind*
'*as well as Intereſt in this Matter, but that the Diſ-*
'*truſt remaining upon the late Quarrel between them,*
'*had kept either of them from beginning to enter frankly*
'*upon it. But ſince his Majeſty had been pleas'd to*
'*break it to him, in a manner ſo obliging; tho he could*
'*not pretend to tell Sir* William *his Maſters* (the
'States) *Mind, yet he would his own; which was,*
'*That the Defence of* Flanders *was abſolutely neceſſary;*
'*but that it ought to be try'd firſt, rather by a joint*
'*Mediation of a Peace between the two Crowns of*
'France *and* Spain, *than by a Declaration of War:*
'*but that if the firſt would not ſerve, it ought to come*
'*to the other. That Sir* William Temple *knew the*
'French *King had already offer'd a Peace, to the*
'*Offices made by the States upon the* Alternative,
'*at the Choice of the* Spaniards, *viz.* either to yield
'up to him the Places and Forts, of which he poſ-
'ſeſs'd himſelf the laſt Year; or to make over to
'him, by way of Equivalent, all that remain'd to
'them in the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh*, or elſe in
'the Country of *Burgundy*; together with *Cambray*
'and the *Cambreſis*, *Doway*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Wynox-*
'*bergen*, *Furnes* and *Lincken*, with their Depen-
'dencies: Upon the accepting of which laſt Al-
'ternative, the moſt Chriſtian King would reſtore
'to *Spain* all the Places the *French* had poſſeſs'd by
'their Arms, ſince they entred *Flanders*. *That he*
'*thought the Mediation of* England *and* Holland *ought*
'*to be offer'd to both Crowns upon that foot, to induce*
'France *to make good their own Offer, and* Spain *to*
'*accept it; and that to this purpoſe, he thought it*
'*very neceſſary to make a ſtrict Alliance between his*
'*Majeſty and the States. That for making an* Offen-
'ſive *Alliance, it could not be; for it was a Maxim*
'*obſerv'd by that State, never to make any, at leaſt*
'*when they were in Peace: That for* Defenſive *Leagues*

'*they had them with many Princes, and he believ'd* '*they would be ready to enter into one with his Maje-* '*ſty: at leaſt, he would uſe all his Endeavours to* '*bring the States to ſuch Opinions and Reſolutions.* When Sir *William Temple* had ſaid this, and obſerv'd by his Action and Face, that he aſſented to this Recital, he ask'd him, 'Whether this was all 'right, that he might know whether he had miſta-'ken nothing in repreſenting his Majeſty's mean-'ing to him, nor his to his Majeſty? Monſieur *De* '*Wit* anſwer'd, *That it was all right; and much com-* '*mended a Method of proceeding, ſo exact and ſincere.*'

Hereupon Sir *William* purſu'd, 'That upon his 'faithfully repreſenting theſe Things to the King, 'his Majeſty had taken ſo much Confidence in his '(Mr. *De Wit*'s) Opinion and Judgment, as well 'as in his Credit with the States, that he had 'taken a firm and ſudden Reſolution upon it; the 'firſt, to join with the States in the Offer of a Me-'diation between the two Crowns, and upon ſuch 'Terms as They and He (Sir *William*) ſhould a-'gree; but with a deſire, that they might be as 'advantageous as the States could be induc'd to, 'for the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and Recovery 'of ſuch Places as ſhould be moſt neceſſary to it: 'And, in the next place, to conclude a Treaty, 'the ſtrongeſt that could be, between *England* and '*Holland*, for obliging *France* to accept the Peace 'upon thoſe Terms, and in the mean time for put-'ting a ſtop to the Courſe of their Arms in *Flan-*'*ders*. But that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary 'to begin all this with a ſtrict League between him 'and the States, for their own mutual Defence; 'and to this purpoſe, had ſent him over as his 'Envoy to the States, with full Powers, and the 'Draught of a Defenſive League; but refer'd the 'reſt, concerning *Flanders*, to what the States and 'he ſhould agree.'

Monſieur

Monſieur *De Wit*, who had, ſome Years before, engag'd himſelf very far in the Intereſt of *France*; but who, like a wiſe and dextrous Politician, that is ſenſible of a falſe Step he has committed, rather endeavours to retrieve it by degrees, than by a quick Turn, to expoſe his former Conduct; receiv'd this Diſcourſe of Sir *William Temple* with a Countenance pleas'd, but yet ſomewhat ſurpriz'd, as if he expected not a Return from his Majeſty ſo ſudden and ſo reſolute. He ſaid, *The States would be very much pleas'd with the Honour his Majeſty did them, and the Overtures he made them: that Sir* William *ſhould chuſe his time, whenever he deſir'd it, for his Audience; and would paſs the Forms of demanding it from the Preſident of the Week: That he was ſtill confident, the States would enter with his Majeſty into the Mediation, the* France *gave them hopes of ſucceeding by their own: That the Provinces differ'd in Opinion, upon what Terms the Peace ſhould be made: That* Utrecht *was ſo bold as to think, nothing but Juſtice ought to be conſider'd in the Caſe: That all that* France *had conquer'd ſhould be reſtor'd to* Spain, *and their Pretenſions be refer'd to Judgment or Arbitrage: But* Holland, *with moſt of the other Provinces, were of another Mind; and conſidering their own preſent Condition, as well as that of* France, *thought it beſt to keep the* French *to their own Offer: but he believ'd would come to means of more Force, if* France *ſhould recede from what they themſelves had advanc'd to the States. That for the Defenſive League between the King and their High Mightineſſes, he did not know whether the late Sore were yet fit for ſuch an Application, but would try the mind of the States. That he doubted, they would think it like to prove too ſudden a Change of all their Intereſts; and that which would abſolutely break them off from ſo old and conſtant a Friend as* France, *to rely wholly upon ſo new and ſo* uncertain *a Friend as* England *had prov'd.*

De Witt had engaged himself too far in the Interest of France, but like a dextrous Politician, that is sensible of a false Step he has committed, rather endeavours to retrieve it by degrees, than by a quick Turn, to expose his former Conduct; receiv'd this Discourse of Sir

Sir *William Temple* anſwer'd, 'That the doing 'what he ſaid, would be the Effect of any Treaties 'of this Nature between the two Nations, let 'them be as tenderly handl'd and compos'd as they 'could. That *France* would take it as ill of the '*Engliſh* and *Dutch*, to be ſtop'd in the remaining 'Conqueſt of *Flanders*, as to be forc'd out of all 'they had already gain'd. That he knew very well 'it had been long their Deſign, at any Price, to 'poſſeſs themſelves of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and 'he knew as well, that it was their Intereſt to do 'ſo, conſidering the Advantages it would give them 'over all the reſt of Chriſtendom: and that it 'was as much the Intereſt of *England* and *Holland* 'to hinder it, and that nothing could do it but a 'firm Conjunction between them. That the *States* 'part would be next, after *Flanders* was gone; and 'therefore they had now as much need of being 'protected by *England* againſt *France*, as they 'thought they had three or four Years before, of 'being protected by *France* againſt *England*: and 'that they had no other Choice, but either to con-'tinue their Friendſhip with *France*, till they ſhould 'ſee both *Flanders* and themſelves ſwallow'd up by 'ſuch a Neighbour; or elſe to change their whole 'Meaſures, and enter into the ſtricteſt Alliance 'with his *Britannick* Majeſty, for the Preſervation 'of both; and let *France* take it as they pleas'd.' Monſieur *De Wit* confeſs'd the Deſigns of *France* for the Conqueſt of *Flanders*; mention'd the Treaties they had made with the States in Cardinal *Richelieu*'s time, and lately offer'd again for *Partitioning* it between them; and ſaid, 'He under-'ſtood very well the Danger of ſuch a Counſel and 'Neighbourhood, or elſe he would have fallen in-'to them. But the Ventures were great on the o-'ther ſide too; that the States were much more 'expos'd than the King; that the *Spaniards* were 'weak,

'weak, and ill to be truſted by the States, between 'whom there had never yet been any better Mea'ſures, than barely thoſe of the *Munſter* Peace, 'after ſo great Rancors and long Hoſtilities. That 'tho he believ'd the *German* Princes would be glad 'of what his Majeſty propos'd, yet he knew not 'how far *Sweden* might be engag'd in the Meaſures 'with *France*; who lay here at their Backs in the 'Dutchy of *Bremen*. And laſt of all, tho this Reſo'lution ſeem'd now to be taken by his Majeſty and 'his Miniſters, on the ſureſt and wiſeſt Foundations, 'which were thoſe of true Intereſt and Safety; yet 'no Man knew how long it might laſt. That if 'they ſhould break all other Meaſures with *France*, 'and throw themſelves wholly upon his Majeſty by 'ſuch a Conjunction, any Change of Counſels in '*England* would be their certain Ruin. That he 'knew not this preſent Miniſtry, and could ſay 'nothing to them; but that he knew the laſt too 'well.' Upon which he ſaid a good deal, of the uncertain Conduct of *England*, ſince the King's Return; and concluded, that the Unſteddineſs of Counſels in *England*, ſeem'd a fatal thing to its Conſtitution: *That he would not judg from what Counſels, but from the time of Queen* Elizabeth, *there had been a perpetual Fluctuation in the Conduct of* England, *with whom it was not poſſible to take Meaſures for two Years together.* To this Sir *William Temple* reply'd, 'That as to their own Intereſts, he (Monſieur *De* '*Wit*) knew them, and could weigh them better 'than himſelf: That after his Audience and firſt 'Conference with Commiſſioners, he ſhould quickly 'ſee how the States would underſtand them; in 'which he knew very well how great a part Mon'ſieur *De Wit* would have. That as for the Danger, 'he confeſs'd the *Dutch* would be firſt expos'd to '*France*, and *England* the laſt: which made it 'reaſonable, they ſhould make the firſt Pace to

Mons^r de Wit told Sr William Temple their that ever ſince the Stewarts came to the Crown, no State could be ſecure to take any Meaſures with

'their Safety. That for *Sweden*, he had no Orders 'to negotiate with them; but being fully inſtructed 'in his Majeſty's general Intentions, he ſhould be 'glad to ſee them ſtrengthen'd all he could: and 'to that purpoſe, if Monſieur *De Wit* thought fit, 'he would talk with the Count *De Dhona*, the *Swe-'diſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, and ſee whether he 'had any Powers to engage that Crown in any 'common Meaſures for the Safety of Chriſtendom: 'and that if by ſuch a Conjunction they could ex-'tend it to a *Triple Alliance*, upon the ſame Foun-'dation, he believ'd Monſieur *De Wit* would think 'it too ſtrong a Bar for *France* to venture on. 'That as for the Unſteddineſs of the *Engliſh* 'Counſels, he would rather bewail, than defend 'it; but that he ſhould not have made this Jour-'ney, if he had not been confident that had been 'ended, and things now bottom'd paſt any Change 'or Remove. That he could not pretend to know 'any Body's Mind certainly, but his own: but 'that upon this matter, he was as confident of his 'Majeſty's, the Lord-Keeper's, and the Lord *Ar-'lington*'s, as he was of his own. And upon this 'Occaſion he ſaid a great deal, not only of the 'Intereſts, but Reſentments that had engag'd his 'Majeſty and the Miniſters in this Counſel: and 'concluded, he was confident it would never break; 'if ever it did, it ſhould never be by his Hand; and 'he might anſwer, thoſe two Lords would fall or 'ſtand upon this Bottom.' Monſieur *De Wit* ſeem'd very much ſatisfy'd with what Sir *William Temple* had ſaid; aſſur'd him, for his part, he would give his Hands towards a good Concluſion of this Affair; That he would truſt his Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt upon ſo great a Conjuncture, as well as the Sincereneſs and Conſtancy of his Miniſters; which he could judg of by no other Lights, but what Sir *William* gave him: Made him great Compliments

Seymour, said once in the house, that Shaftsbury broke it.

upon the great Confidence he had taken in him, and his manner of Dealing: And concluded, that Sir *William* ſhould ſee Count *Dhona*, and try how far *Sweden* was to be engag'd in this Affair.

Accordingly, that very Evening, Sir *William Temple* went to Count *Dhona*, paſs'd over the Ceremonies of their reſpective Characters, by going ſtrait into his Chamber, taking a Chair, and ſitting down by him, before he could riſe out of his; and told him, 'He 'hop'd he would excuſe this Liberty, upon an Errand 'wherein he thought both their Maſters were con-'cern'd: That he knew nothing to make his ſeeing 'the other Ambaſſadors at the *Hague* neceſſary; 'and ſo was content with the Difficulties had 'been introduc'd by the uſual Ceremonies; but 'thinking it abſolutely neceſſary for his Maſter's 'Service, to enter into Confidence with his Ex-'cellency, he had reſolv'd to do it in this manner; 'and, if he gave him leave, to purſue it as if their 'Acquaintance and Commerce had been of never 'ſo long a Date.' The Count embrac'd him, gave him great Thanks for the Honour Sir *William* did him, and the frank and confident manner he us'd with him: and ſaid, He was ready to return it upon any thing he ſhould think fit to com-municate to him. Compliments being paſs'd, Sir *William* enter'd into the Detail of his whole Progreſs to that time, both in *England*, and at the *Hague*; of his Majeſty's Reaſons, of the common Intereſts of Chriſtendom, of the Reception his Overtures found from Monſieur *De Wit*, and the Hopes he had of ſucceeding; and of their Diſcour-ſes about engaging *Sweden* in a *Triple Alliance*. He added, he knew how the Crown of *Sweden* had been treated of late Years by *France*; how cloſe they had kept to the Friendſhip with his *Britannick* Ma-jeſty, and how beneficial as well as honourable ſuch a Part as this might prove to them, by the par-

ticular

ticular uſe they might be of to the Crown of *Spain*; and that upon any good Occaſion, they might be ſure of his Majeſty's Offices and the *States*, who reſolv'd to enter into this Affair without any other Intereſt, than that of the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and thereby of their own Safety, and the common Good. Count *Dhona* profeſs'd to applaud his *Britannick* Majeſty's Counſel, to be confident that *Sweden* would be content to go his Pace in all the common Concerns of Chriſtendom; which he was aſſur'd of by his own Inſtructions in general: but that ſuch an Affair as this not being foreſeen, he could have none upon it. He added, 'That if it ſucceeded, he would make all the 'Paces he could to engage his Maſter in it; as what 'he thought of Honour and Advantage to the 'common Safety: But that he would return Sir 'William *Temple*'s Frankneſs with the ſame to him, 'in telling him, He doubted his bringing it to an 'Iſſue. That he firſt queſtion'd Monſieur *De Wit*'s 'Reſolution, to break, upon any Terms, with '*France*, and cloſe with *England*: not only conſidering what had lately paſs'd between *England* 'and the States, but the Intereſts of the Houſe of '*Orange*, which *De Wit* muſt ever believe, would, 'at one time or other, be advanc'd by *England*; 'whereas he was ſure to be ſupported againſt them 'by *France*: Therefore he believ'd, tho Monſieur '*De Wit* would not oppoſe it, becauſe the States 'and People might run into it; yet he would find 'ſome means to elude the Concluſion or Effect of 'it, without appearing himſelf in any ſuch Deſign. 'That, in the next place, ſince ſuch a Treaty could 'not be made by the States General, without firſt 'being ſent to all the Provinces and Towns for 'their Approbation, and Orders upon it to their 'Deputies; he did not ſee how it was poſſible for 'the *French* Ambaſſador to fail of engaging ſome Towns

The Swedish Embaſſadour told Sr. Temple that de Wit would not break with France, becauſe Engd. was to support him against the

'Towns or Provinces againſt it: and the Oppo-
'ſition of any one of them would loſe the Effect,
'ſince no new Treaty could be made, by the Con-
'ſtitution of that Republick, without an univerſal
'Conſent. That however, he would not diſcou-
'rage him, but wiſh'd him Succeſs with all his
'heart, upon many Reaſons; and among others,
'as being ſo much a Servant to the Houſe of O-
'range, which could not but profit by ſuch a Con-
'junction between *England* and *Holland*. And a-
'gain promis'd, whenever Sir *William* brought it
'to a Period, to uſe all his Endeavours, and even
'ſtretch his Powers as far as he could, towards
'engaging his Maſter in the ſame Meaſures.'

In the ſecond Conference Sir *William Temple* had * with Monſieur *De Wit*, he acquainted him with what had paſs'd with Count *Dhona*; which he ſeem'd much pleas'd with, and ſaid, *Tho it could not be expected the Count ſhould have ſo general Inſtructions as to conclude ſuch an Affair, yet an Inſtrument might be drawn up between the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *Miniſters, whereby room might be left for* Sweden *to enter, as a Principal, into their Alliance: and Count* Dhona *had ſo much Credit at his Court, to recommend it there ſo as to ſucceed, eſpecially upon the Hopes they* muſt give him of obtaining *Subſidies from* Spain, *which might countervail what they might loſe from* France *upon that Occaſion.* In the next place, they talk'd of the Treaty it ſelf: And Monſieur *De Wit* was of Opinion, that the Condition of forcing *Spain* to accept the Alternative offer'd by the *French* King, was neceſſary to their common End, and to clear the Means towards it from all Accidents that might ariſe. And as for the Defenſive League, he continued in his former Thoughts, that it ſhould be negotiated between *England* and *Holland*; tho upon

* January 17. N. S. 1668.

the Project offer'd his Majesty at *Scheveling*; by which all matters of Commerce might be so adjusted, as to leave no Seeds of any new Quarrels between the two Nations. After this Sir *William Temple* fell upon the Form of concluding the main Treaty, saying, 'He could easily foretel the Fate 'of it, if it must pass the common Forms of be-'ing sent by the several Deputies, to all their Prin-'cipals upon it. That he knew this would take up 'a Month or Six Weeks time; and that nothing 'would be so easy, as for the *French* Ambassador 'to meet with it in running that Circle, and by 'engaging some one Member, perhaps by Mony 'thrown among the chief Persons in some of the 'small Towns, to prevent and ruin a Counsel of 'the greatest Importance to Christendom, as well 'as to *England* and *Holland*, that had been on foot 'in many Ages. And that unless the *States Gene-'ral* would conclude and sign the Treaty imme-'diately, and trust to the Approbation of their 'several Provinces and Towns after it was done; 'he should give it for gone, and think no more of 'it.' Monsieur *De Wit* seem'd to think this impossible; said, no such thing had ever been done since the first Institution of their Commonwealth: That tho it was true, the *States-General* might sign a Treaty, yet they could not ratify it, without recourse to their Principals; and that they should venture their Heads by signing it, if their Principals, not approving it, should question them for doing it without Orders: That he hop'd the Forms might be expedited in three Weeks time; and that all Care should be taken to prevent the Addresses of the *French* Ambassador among the Provinces. But Sir *William* cut the matter short, and told him, 'He continu'd of his first Opinion, to see it im-'mediately agreed between himself and the Com-'missioners, and then signed by the States; which

'might be done in four or five days; and that the 'Deputies might ſafely truſt to the Approbation 'of their Principals in a Point of ſo great and 'evident Publick Intereſt. That for his part, he 'knew not how much this Delay, and thereby Ha-'zard of the Affair, might be interpreted in *Eng-'land*, nor what Change in his Orders it might 'produce: That he had now Powers to conclude 'an Alliance, of the laſt Conſequence to the Safety 'of *Flanders* and *Holland*; that if it ſhould miſcarry 'by the too great Caution of the Deputies in point 'of Form, for ought he knew, they might ven-'ture their Heads that way, and more deſervedly, 'than by ſigning at preſent, what all of them be-'lieved would not only be ratify'd, but applaud-'ed by their Principals.' And with this Sir *Wil-liam Temple* left him.

It is to be obſerv'd, that the firſt time he ſaw Monſieur *De Wit*, the latter told him, *He came upon a Day he ſhould always eſteem very happy, both in re-ſpect of his Majeſty's Reſolutions which Sir* William *brought, and of thoſe the States had taken, about the diſ-poſal of the chief Commands in their Army; by making Prince* Maurice *and Monſieur* Wurtz, *Field-Maſters-General, and the Prince of* Tarante *and* Rhingrave, *Generals of the Horſe; each to command in Abſence of the other.* Sir *William* laid hold on this Occa-ſion, to ſay what the King gave him order, in fa-vour of the Prince of *Orange*; which Monſieur *De Wit* ſeem'd to take very well, and ſaid, *Was very obliging to the States: that for his own part, he never fail'd to ſee the Prince once or twice a Week, and grew to have a particular Affection for him; and would tell Sir* William *plainly, that the States deſign'd the Captain-Generalſhip of all the Forces for him, ſo ſoon as by his Age he grew capable of it:* But this ap-pear'd afterwards to be but a Compliment.

Anno 68, On the 18th of *January* N. S. 1668, Sir *William Temple* had his Audience, which paſs'd with all the Reſpect that could be given to his Character; and the next Morning began his Conference with the eight Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs. Having ſhewn his Powers, and ſeen theirs, 'He offer'd them the 'Project of the *Defenſive League*, as that which 'was to be the Foundation of all further Nego-'tiation; and without which, perhaps, neither 'of the Parties ſhould be very forward to ſpeak 'their Minds with Confidence and Freedom, in 'what concern'd their Neighbours, being likely 'therein to ſhock ſo great Powers abroad: Adding, 'that his Majeſty having reſolv'd, as far as he could 'in Honour, to comply with the Senſe of the States 'in the Offices of *Mediation* between *France* and '*Spain*, he expected from them the Knowledg of 'the *States* Reſolution, in caſe they were already 'agreed.' Sir *William Temple* took this Courſe in his firſt Propoſals, becauſe upon his Arrival at the *Hague* he found, that the Provinces were divided in their Opinions, five of them only having come into that of Monſieur *De Wit:* but *Zealand* being for agreeing with *France* in dividing *Flanders*, and *Utrecht* for ſuffering *France* only to retain the laſt Years Conqueſt, by way of *Compromiſe*, till their Pretenſions were adjudg'd before competent Arbiters, to be agreed by the two Crowns, or by the joint Mediators. Monſieur *De Wit*, who ſpoke for all the Commiſſioners, after a Preamble of the uſual Forms and Compliments on the King's happy Diſpoſitions, to enter into a nearer Alliance with the *States*, declar'd the ſame Reſolution in their High Mightineſſes: and allowing a mutual Confidence by a *Defenſive League* for the Baſis of the reſt, ſaid, The *States were willing to have Clauſes for their common Safety inſerted in the Articles of the Mediation*: And was large upon this Argument, that the laſt,

being

being of very preſſing Haſte, as well as Neceſſity; and they having already Order from their Provinces to proceed upon it, they could not have the ſame Powers upon the *Defenſive*, being a new Matter, under ſix Weeks or two Months time: but aſſoon as they receiv'd them, would ſend their Ambaſſadors in *England* Inſtructions to go upon that Treaty; which muſt, for a Baſis, have, at the ſame time, an Adjuſtment of Matters of Commerce. To cut this matter ſhort, Sir *William Temple* told them directly, 'He had no Orders to proceed upon any other Points but in Conſequence or Conjunction of the *Defenſive League*; in which he thought his Majeſty had all the Reaſon that could be; both becauſe he would not venture a War's ending in *Flanders* to begin upon *England*: and on the other ſide knew, the *States*, whoſe Danger was nearer, would never be capable of taking any vigorous Reſolutions in their Neighbours Affairs, till they were ſecure at home by his Majeſty's Defence. That his Majeſty thought the moſt generous and friendly Advance that could be, was made on his ſide by his Propoſition, being himſelf ſo much more out of Danger than they were, and ſo much courted to a Conjunction with *France* to their Prejudice, as well as that of *Flanders*; that they had not made a Difficulty of ſuch Alliances with Princes, who had lately Quarrels with them, as well as his Majeſty: and that, God be thank'd, his Majeſty was not in a Condition to have ſuch an Offer refus'd by any Prince or State in Chriſtendom.' After ſome other Diſcourſes on both ſides, it was reſolv'd, that Monſieur *De Wit* and Monſieur *Isbrants* ſhould ſpend that Afternoon with Sir *William Temple*, at his Excellency's Lodgings, to endeavour the adjuſting of Circumſtances, ſince they ſeem'd to agree in Subſtance: Which they did accordingly, and advanc'd

to

to this Point, That inſtead of the Project of *Scheveling*, or any new Adjuſtment, concerning Marine Affairs, the *States* would proceed upon his Majeſty's Project of a *Defenſive League*, provided the Proviſional Articles in the *Breda* Treaty might be inſerted and perpetuated in this; and that thereupon they ſhould expect the King's Anſwer to what Sir *William Temple* ſhould write that Night. The next Morning (Saturday *Jan.* 21. N. S.) Sir *William* deſir'd another Conference with theſe two Commiſſioners, but could not have it till the Afternoon; they being to report to the States what had paſs'd the Evening before. At their Meeting, they acquainted him with the *States* Reſolution, conformable to Monſieur *De Wit*'s Opinion, *That it was neceſſary the Articles Proviſional ſhould be inſerted in the Treaty:* So as Sir *William* began to doubt a ſtop of all, till his Majeſty's Anſwer, which ſubjected all to uncertainties. He knew that Count *D'Eſtrades*, the *French* Ambaſſador, was grown into very ill Humour upon his Arrival, and had fallen into Complaints and Expoſtulations with ſeveral of the States; and the more, becauſe he could not ſee Monſieur *de Wit* from Sir *William*'s coming over, till that time, tho he had often preſs'd it. He knew likewiſe, that vigilant *French* Miniſter had thereupon diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Paris*, which he thought would make no delay; and therefore reſolv'd to fall upon all Inſtances and Expedients he could, to draw up a ſudden concluſion. Hereupon, he told the *Dutch* Commiſſioners, 'He deſir'd it extremely, before he could hear a-'gain from *England*, becauſe he had left the Mar-'quis *De Ruvigny* (the *French* Ambaſſador in *Lon-'don*) very buſy at his coming away, and not un-'befriended. That he fear'd the ſame Artifices of '*France* to diſturb their Meaſures at the *Hague*; 'and perhaps Monſieur *D'Eſtrades* might, at his 'next

'next Meeting, infuſe ſome Jealouſies into the 'States, by the Relation of what had paſs'd be-'tween the Earl of *Arlington* and Monſieur *De* '*Ruvigny*, three or four days after the date of his '(Sir *William Temple*'s) Inſtructions: Upon which 'he told them frankly (as the King had given him 'leave) what had paſs'd, in relation to a Scheme 'propos'd by *France* to the King of *England*, for 'dividing the *Spaniſh Netherlands*.' Monſieur *De Wit*, ſtartled by this Diſcovery, ask'd Sir *William*, *Whether he could ſhew him the Paper drawn up between the Earl of* Arlington *and Monſieur* De Ruvigny? And Sir *William* anſwering, He had it not: Monſieur *De Wit* deſir'd earneſtly, he would procure it him; aſſuring him, *No uſe ſhould be made of it but by joint Conſent:* Adding, *Nothing would ſerve ſo far to juſtify the States, in caſe of a Breach growing neceſſary between them and* France. Sir *William Temple* promis'd to write to the Earl of *Arlington* about it: and the better to engage Monſieur *De Wit*, told him, 'What Confidence he (Sir *William*) had 'given his Majeſty of his ſincere Proceedings; and 'how he had been ſupported by the Earl of *Ar-'lington* in thoſe Suggeſtions, againſt the Opinion 'of ſome other great Men: What Advantage theſe 'would take, if they ſaw this whole Negotiation 'was ſtop'd upon a thing that look'd like a *Chica-'nery*; ſince *Articles Proviſional* till new Agree-'ments, were in effect as ſtrong as *Perpetual*, which 'might even be chang'd by new Agreements: 'That this would be eſteem'd an Artifice of Mon-'ſieur *De Wit*, eſpecially ſince he had declar'd, '*That it was his Opinion not to conclude without in-'ſerting thoſe Articles*, which yet he could not deny 'to be of preſent Force'. Monſieur *Isbrants* was ſatisfy'd with Sir *William Temple*'s Reaſons, and ſaid, He would undertake his Province ſhould be ſo too: But Monſieur *De Wit* ſaid, *Holland* and *Zealand* would

would not. Hereupon Sir *William* told them, 'He 'was ſure the States would not think fit to loſe 'the Effect of the League propos'd upon ſuch a 'Point, as the ſeeing the King's Reſolution in An- 'ſwer to his Letter, before they concluded, with 'Reſolutions, however, that this ſhould not hinder 'at laſt: That he foreſaw many things might hap- 'pen in ten days time to break all their good In- 'tentions, and ſome more than he had told them, 'or could at preſent: That if they knew him, 'and how far he was to be truſted, where he gave 'his Word, he would propoſe an Expedient to 'them; but being new among them, he thought 'it was to no purpoſe.' Here he paus'd: And they deſiring he would, however, propoſe that Ex- pedient, he did ſo; which was, 'That they ſhould 'proceed to draw up the whole Project, and ſign 'aſſoon as was poſſible: and that in caſe he after- 'wards receiv'd his Majeſty's leave to inſert thoſe 'Proviſional Articles, he would freely declare it 'to them, and inſert them in a ſeparate Article, 'to be a part of the *Defenſive League*.' They both look'd a while upon one another, and after a Pauſe, Monſieur *De Wit* gave Sir *William Temple* his hand; complimented him in the Confidence he had taken in his Face, and in the reſt of his deal- ing ſince their firſt Commerce; told him, That if he would promiſe them, on the Word of an honeſt Man, what he had ſaid, they would ask no further Aſſurance of him: and provided the Treaty of *Breda* might be confirm'd in the Preamble of this, for his part, tho he could promiſe nothing what the States would reſolve, yet he would promiſe that himſelf and Monſieur *Isbrants* would uſe their ut- moſt endeavours to induce them to proceed upon his Propoſition. Sir *William Temple* knowing that new Treaties uſe to begin by Confirmation of the old, made no difficulty about it; and ſo they fell imme-

immediately to digeſt the Project of the whole Treaty in three ſeveral Inſtruments. The firſt contain'd 'a League Defenſive and Perpetual, be-'tween the King of *Great-Britain* and the States, 'againſt all Perſons, without exception, that ſhould 'invade either of them; with Agreement to fur-'niſh each other, upon occaſion, with forty Ships 'of War, of which Fourteen between Sixty and 'Eighty Guns, and four hundred Men a-piece one 'with another; Fourteen more, between Forty 'and Sixty Guns, and three hundred Men a-piece; 'and of the other Twelve, none under Thirty ſix 'Guns, and a Hundred and Sixty Men. Beſides 'this, with Six Thouſand Foot, and Four Hun-'dred Horſe, or Mony inſtead of them, at the 'Choice of the Invaded; and to be repaid within 'three Years after the end of the War: the Pro-'portions of Mony to the ſeveral Parts of the ſaid 'Aid, being aſcertain'd in the ſaid Treaty.' The ſecond Inſtrument contain'd, 'The joint Obliga-'tions of *England* and the *United Provinces*, to 'diſpoſe *France* to make Peace in *Flanders* upon one 'of the Alternatives already propos'd; and like-'wiſe to diſpoſe *Spain* to accept it before the end 'of *May* next: but in caſe of Difficulty made by 'them, to diſpoſe *France* however, to ſtop all fur-'ther Progreſs of its own Arms there, and leave 'it wholly to the Allies to procure the Ends pro-'pos'd in this League.' The third Inſtrument con-tain'd four ſeparate Articles, of the ſame Force with the Treaty, *viz. Firſt*, 'That if in the pro-'curing of a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, any 'difficulty ſhould ariſe about the Point of the '*RENUNCIATION*, it ſhould be ſo contriv'd, 'that either no mention at all ſhould be made of 'it in the Treaty, or, at leaſt, that the Form 'ſhould be conceiv'd in ſuch Words, as nothing 'might accrue to either of the two Crowns, on

'account of the ſaid *Renunciation*; nor any Preju-
'dice be created to either of them, in point of
'Right: But if either of the two Kings ſhould
'refuſe their Conſent to this Expedient, then the
'King of *Great Britain* and the States General,
'ſhould proceed againſt the Refuſer, in the man-
'ner agreed in the ſecond Inſtrument. *Secondly*,
'That the King of *Great Britain* and the *States*,
'ſhould uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, that a Peace
'might be eſtabliſh'd between the Kings of *Spain*
'and *Portugal*; but with this Condition, that in
'caſe this Negotiation could not be ſo ſoon ac-
'compliſh'd, ſuch a Delay ſhould not, on the Moſt
'Chriſtian King's part, hinder the Peace between
'him and *Spain*; except only that it ſhould be
'free for the *French* King to aſſiſt the King of *Por-*
'*tugal*, his Ally; but that he ſhould wholly abſtain
'from the *Low-Countries*, as poſſeſs'd of Peace, and
'not involv'd in the Diſputes of either Party.
'And if during the ſaid War, the Auxiliary Forces
'of the *French* King ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of
'any Places in *Spain* and *Italy*, he ſhould reſtore
'them to *Spain*, aſſoon as the Peace with *Portugal*
'ſhould be made. But if the King of *Spain* ſhould
'refuſe to make Peace with the Kings of *France* and
'*Portugal*, under the Exception of leaving the firſt
'at liberty to aſſiſt the other, in ſuch a Caſe the
'King of *Great Britain* and the States ſhould em-
'ploy themſelves effectually to procure the Conſent
'of the *Spaniards*; but yet with this Proviſo, that
'the *French* King ſhould alſo oblige himſelf not to
'make War in the *Low-Countries*. *Thirdly*, That
'in caſe the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould not ac-
'compliſh his Promiſe, (as to the Alternatives by
'him propos'd) or ſhould reject the Cautions and
'Proviſions expreſs'd in the ſecond Inſtrument,
'which were ſo neceſſary to obviate the juſt Fears
'of his Intentions, to make a farther Progreſs
'into

'into the ſaid *Low-Countries*; or if he ſhould endeavour by any Subterfuge, to elude the Concluſion of the Peace; then *England* and the *United Provinces*, ſhould join themſelves to the King of *Spain*, and with all their united Force, make War againſt *France*; not only to compel that Crown to make Peace upon the Conditions aforeſaid, but alſo, if it ſhould be thought expedient, to continue the War, till things ſhould be reſtor'd to that Condition, in which they were at the time of the *PYRENEAN TREATY*. *Fourthly*, That theſe ſeparate Articles ſhould be confirm'd and ratify'd, and the mutual Inſtruments of Ratification exchang'd on both ſides, within four Weeks.' It is to be obſerv'd, that the Minutes, or firſt Draught of theſe Inſtruments was in *French*, and that the only Difficulty that occur'd was in this Expreſſion, *viz. In caſe their Perſuaſions to* Spain *ſhould not prevail, and they ſhould come, à la Force & à la Contrainte*; which Sir *William Temple* moderated at firſt by the words *(aux moyens plus durs)* and afterwards *(aux moyens plus efficaces.)* Having ſet up all Saturday Night, till Sunday Morning, (*Jan.* 22. N. S.) they agreed upon the Project in *French*, and gave Order for the tranſlating it into *Latin*; which was done, perus'd by Sir *William Temple* and the *Dutch* Commiſſioners; agreed to between Twelve and One that Night; engroſs'd by Eleven next *Monday* * Morning; and at a Meeting with the Commiſſioners jointly, was ſigned and ſealed, and mutually deliver'd between Two and Three that Afternoon. After ſealing, they all imbrac'd with much Kindneſs, and Applauſe of Sir *William Temple*'s ſaying, on that Occaſion, *A* Breda *comme Amis, icy comme Freres*; that is, *At* Breda *like Friends, here like Brothers.*

* Jan. 23. N. S.

And Monſieur *De Wit* made him a moſt obliging Compliment, of *having the Honour which never any other Miniſter had before him, of drawing the* States *to a Reſolution and Concluſion in five Days, upon a Matter of the greateſt Importance; and an Aſſiſtance of the greateſt Expence they had ever engag'd in: and all directly againſt the Nature of their Conſtitutions, which enjoin'd them recourſe to their Provinces:* Adding, *That now it was done, it look'd like a MIRACLE.* 'Tis, indeed, hardly imaginable, the Joy and Wonder conceiv'd in *Holland*, upon the Concluſion of this Treaty, brought to an Iſſue in five Days; nor the Applauſe given to his *Britannick* Majeſty's Reſolution, as the wiſeſt and happieſt that could, in this Conjuncture, be taken by any Prince, both for his own, and his Neighbours Affairs. Nor were the Counſels and Conduct, either of the preſent Miniſtry in *England*, or of Sir *William Temple*, leſs commended: The thing being almoſt done at the *Hague*, aſſoon as his Journey was known in *London*, and before his Errand was ſuſpected by any Publick Miniſter in *England*. To this purpoſe Sir *William Temple* wrote * with no leſs Wit than Modeſty, to Monſieur *Gourville*, a Miniſter of *France*, at that time reſiding at *Lunenburgh*, 'That People would needs have him (Sir *William*) 'paſs for one of great Abilities, for having finiſh'd 'and ſign'd, in five days, a Treaty of ſuch Importance to Chriſtendom. But he would tell Monſieur *Gourville* the Secret of it: *To draw* (continues Sir *William*) *things out of their Center, requires Labour and Addreſs to put them into Motion; but to make them return thither, Nature helps ſo far, that there needs no more than juſt to ſet them a going. Now, I think, a STRICT ALLIANCE is the TRUE CENTER of our Two NATIONS.*

* February 7. N. S.

There

'*There was alſo another Accident, which contributed* '*very much to this Affair; and that was, a great Con-* '*fidence ariſen between the Penſioner and Me*—— *In* '*ſhort, the Two Nations are cloſer united, than if* '*there never had been a War. For Affairs in gene-* '*ral, I can tell you nothing, but that our common De-* '*ſign is to give Peace to all* Chriſtendom: *So that if* 'France *pleaſes, they may have it this Spring; if not,* '*(as Monſieur* D'Eſtrades *ſays, at leaſt not after our* '*Faſhion) they may have their Fill of the War.*'

In anſwer to this, Monſieur *Gourville* wrote * to Sir *William*, 'That all his modeſt Reaſoning would 'not hinder him from believing, that any other 'Miniſter the King of *England* could have ſent to 'the *Hague*, would not have finiſh'd in many 'Months, what Sir *William* had done in four Days. 'That he ſuſpected at firſt, this Treaty had been 'made by ſome Concert with the Marquiſs of *Ca-* '*ſtel-Rodrigo*; and that he was ſtrongly perſuaded 'the (*French*) King, his Maſter, would hold to the '*Alternative:* Monſieur *De Lionne* having ſent him 'word, That *his Majeſty was content with what had* '*been done at the* Hague; *and that if the manner of* '*it had been a little more obliging, there was nothing* '*more to be deſired.*' But, it ſeems, either Monſieur *Gourville* was not in the Secret of his Court; or the latter part of his Letter was but Grimace and Diſſimulation. The *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, who better foreſaw the Conſequences of this Alliance, and what a Bar it might prove to his Maſter's future Deſigns; and who, on the other hand, fondly believ'd the States would never have ventur'd upon ſuch a ſtep; was very much ſurpriz'd with the Concluſion of this Treaty.

* February 22. N. S.

Sir

Sir *William Temple* obſerves *, that upon his firſt Conference with the *Dutch* Commiſſioners, Count *D'Eſtrades* had ſaid, *All would go into Smoak, and the King his Maſter would laugh at it.* And the Day before their ſigning, being told, they advanc'd very faſt, he reply'd; *Well, ſix Weeks hence we'll talk on't:* relying upon the Forms of the State, to run the Circle of their Towns. But when † Monſieur *De Wit* and Sir *William Temple* communicated to him the Treaty (except the ſeparate Articles) he ſaid coldly, That *he doubted they had taken a right way to their End: That the fourth Article of the ſecond Inſtrument, was not in Terms very proper to be digeſted by a King Twenty Nine Years old, and at the head of eighty thouſand Men: That if the King of* Great Britain *and the* States *had joined, both to deſire his Maſter to prolong the Offer he had made, of a Ceſſation of Arms till the time they propos'd; and withal, not to move his Arms further in* Flanders, *tho* Spain *ſhould refuſe, they might hope to ſucceed: But if they thought to preſcribe him Laws, and force him to compliance, by Leagues between themſelves, or with* Spain, *tho* Sweden *and the* German *Princes ſhould join with them, he knew his Maſter would not yield, and that it would come to a War of Forty Years.* From this he fell a little warmly upon the Proceeding of the *States*, ſaying, *They knew his Maſter's Reſolutions upon thoſe two Points, Neither to prolong the Ceſſation propos'd, beyond the end of* March, *nor to deſiſt the Purſuit of his Conqueſts with his own Arms, in caſe* Spain *conſented not to his Demands within that time.* He added, *That his* Britannick *Majeſty not being his Maſter's Ally, might treat and conclude what he pleas'd without his Offence; but for the States, who were the neareſt Ally of* France, *to conclude ſo much to his Ma-*

* Vol. I. *of his Letters*, p. 149.
† Jan. 24. N. S.

ſter's

ſter's diſreſpect at leaſt, and without communicating with him (the Ambaſſador) at all during the whole Treaty, he muſt leave it to his Maſter to interpret as he thought fit: Concluding, *that what ſurpriz'd him moſt was, that there was no Engagement on the part of the King of* England *and the* States, *to come to an open Rupture with the* Spaniards, *in caſe they refus'd the Conditions offer'd by his Maſter.*

Monſieur *De Wit* defended the Cauſe and common Intentions of his *Britannick* Majeſty and the States, with great Phlegm and Steddineſs; and to palliate the matter, told the *French* Ambaſſador, 'That the Treaty could not be couch'd in other 'Terms, both in order to draw the King of *Eng-* 'land into it, and bring him off from *Spain*, and 'to get the Conſent of the ſeveral Provinces, who 'otherwiſe would ſtill have ſtop'd its concluſion; 'the Opinion of the Province of *Holland* for a '*Rupture*, not being ſufficient: but that Satisfaction 'ſhould be given on that Point, to the moſt Chri- 'ſtian King, by Monſieur *Beuningen*, whom the States 'had reſolv'd to ſend Ambaſſador Extraordinary 'and Plenipotentiary to *Paris*, to ſign a Treaty with 'the moſt Chriſtian King; wherein things would 'be clearly expreſs'd, and the word *Rupture* ſpeci- 'fy'd. But that in a Republick like this, one muſt 'follow the Rules of its Conſtitution, and lay 'hold of favourable Opportunities, as he had done 'on this Occaſion. That he beſought the (*French*) 'King to be perſuaded, that the States would pro- 'cure for him either of the two Alternatives; and 'that the *Spaniards* would not be able to ſtand the 'Declarations which the Kings of *England* and *Swe-* 'den, the *States General*, the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, 'and other Princes their Allies, would make, at 'the ſame time, to induce the *Spaniards* to accept

* *See Count* D'Eſtrades *Letters*, Vol. V. p. 211.

'the

'the ſaid Alternative.' Monſieur *D'Eſtrades* remain'd firm in his former Expoſtulations; and, after he was gone, Monſieur *De Wit* told Sir *William Temple*, that *this was the leaſt they could expect at firſt from a* Frenchman; *and that Sir* William *would do well however, to give his* Britannick *Majeſty an Account of it by the firſt; that they ſhould put themſelves early in Poſture, to make good what they had ſaid: and that as to the Time and Degree of their arming, he would conſult with the* States, *and let Sir* William *know their Thoughts, to be communicated to his Majeſty.*

The next * day Sir *William Temple* and Monſieur *De Wit*, made the like Communication of their Treaty to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who receiv'd it with the ſame Deſcants upon the Hardſhip of it; but, in Sir *William*'s Opinion, with ſatisfaction at Heart.

On the 26th Count *Dhona*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, with whom Sir *William Temple* had gone along in the whole Buſineſs with perfect Confidence and Concert, ſigned a ſeparate Article, or Inſtrument, jointly with Sir *William* and the States Commiſſioners; obliging his Maſter to enter as a Principal into the ſame Alliance, *(that the ſaid League might acquire the Subſtance as well as the Form of a* Triple Agreement; *to which all the reſpective Parties ſhould make it their Buſineſs to invite their Friends and Allies, if any of them ſhould deſire to be admitted)* ſo ſoon as ſome Pretenſions the King of *Sweden* had from the Emperor and *Spain*, were ſatisfy'd by the good Offices of *England* between them: For which purpoſe Count *Dhona* ſet out the next † Day for *England*, in the Company of Mr. *Henry Temple*, Brother to Sir *William*, with the whole Account of the Buſineſs, and the Treaties ſign'd in order to their Ratification.

* Jan. 25. N. S. † Jan. 27. N. S.

On

On the 19th of *January*, O. S. Mr, *Temple* arriv'd at *Whitehall*, to the general Satisfaction of the Court and City: For it was obſerv'd, that this *Triple Alliance* was ſo grateful to the Parliament and People, that it was of mighty Service to the King and his Miniſtry; and cover'd them a while from all Suſpicion of *Popery* and *French* Intereſt: And about ten Days after, the Ratifications from *England* were receiv'd at the *Hague*, with the ſame univerſal Joy that the Treaty was concluded. I have been the longer in the relation of this Tranſaction, not only becauſe, in the Opinion of the beſt Politicians, it was the wiſeſt ſtep King *Charles* II. made in the whole Courſe of his Reign, both with reſpect to his Neighbours and his own Subjects; but alſo becauſe it diſcover'd the true Sentiments and Opinions of both Nations, in relation to the growing Power of *France*.

While theſe things paſs'd in *Holland*, the *French* King took the Reſolution to march in Perſon at the Head of an Army, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of *Franche-Compté*; which Deſign he thought fit to communicate to the States-General, by a Letter of the 22d of *January* 1668. N. S. wherein his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty told them, 'That * the two principal Motives that prompted him to this Expedition, were, *Firſt*, the giving their High Mightineſſes more effectual means to diſpoſe the *Spaniards* to Peace. *Secondly*, His own Security, upon Advice that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Vienna* endeavour'd to engage the Emperor to ſend an Army into *Burgundy*. But declaring withal, that how proſperous ſoever this Expedition might be, he would not, upon that ſcore, expect higher, or more advantageous Conditions of Peace, than ſuch

* *See Count* D'Eſtrades *Letters and Memoirs*, Vol. V. p. 205.

'as he had offer'd to be contented with till the 'end of *March*.' Tho the States were ſomewhat ſtartled at this new Enterprize of *France*, yet they reſolv'd to ſet a good Face upon it, and to ſeem to believe it might the more incline the *Spaniards* to the Alternative propos'd by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: And, on the other hand, they were extreme glad of this Opportunity, to give a plauſible Turn to the Meaſures they had lately taken, in Conjunction with the King of *England*. Hereupon they wrote * to the *French* King, 'That ever ſince 'his Majeſty had acquainted them with his laſt In- 'tention, concerning the Satisfaction which might 'put an end to the War between him and the King 'of *Spain*, they had us'd all their Application and 'inceſſant Endeavours to procure it for him, and 'to diſpoſe the *Spaniards* to acquieſce in it; but 'met with ſuch oppoſition, that they deſpair'd of 'Succeſs, unleſs they could bring them into the ſame 'Views and Sentiments, who were able to ſecond 'their good Intentions. That, at laſt, they had 'the Happineſs to ſee their Endeavours proſpe- 'rous: The King of *Great Britain* having explain'd 'himſelf in ſuch a manner as his (moſt Chriſtian) 'Majeſty could deſire for his own Satisfaction: 'and being diſpos'd to act effectually with them, 'in order to diſpoſe the *Spaniards* to grant his Ma- 'jeſty's Demands; which they had communicated 'to the Count *D'Eſtrades*. That they did not 'doubt his Majeſty's being pleas'd with their Pro- 'ceedings in this matter; which ſo well expreſs'd 'their Affection and Zeal for his Glory and Satiſ- 'faction, as well as for the Repoſe of Chriſtendom. 'All which they would teſtify more at large, by 'the Mouth of the Ambaſſador Extaordinary, whom 'they would ſend with all ſpeed, to concert with

* January 26. 1668. N. S.

his

'his Majeſty the moſt effectual means to bring this 'great Work to a Concluſion.' However, we may obſerve, that the States-General made no haſte in diſpatching away Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, their Ambaſſador Extraordinary; which increas'd the *Jealouſy* and Uneaſineſs of the Court of *France*.

Nor were their Suſpicions ill grounded: For it is to be obſerv'd, that in all that was digeſted in the Treaty between *England* and *Holland*, and that was to paſs in their intended Negotiation with *France*, upon this Occaſion, the States avoided calling the parts both Nations were to act, a *Mediation*; becauſe *that* ſeem'd to import a *Neutrality*: whereas upon failing of their Offices towards a Peace, they were to take their ſhares in the War. As for the Method and Manner of purſuing it, upon the *French* refuſal, Sir *William Temple* had ſeveral Conferences with Monſieur *De Wit*, in which Expedients were likewiſe propos'd, for removing the Difficulty about the *Flag*; which was the only matter that could now occaſion any Diſpute between the two Nations. As for the Proviſional Articles, for which Sir *William Temple* had engag'd his Word, he told Monſieur *De Wit*, His Majeſty had, in his Anſwer, given him leave to do it, with an Article for the Meeting of Commiſſioners, at both Parties deſire, either to ſupply, change, or retrench what ſhould be found defective, inconvenient, or ſuperfluous; ſo as it might appear to be an original Treaty between the two Nations: which would be more for their Honour, than to copy after the *French*. Sir *William Temple* made the King's Conceſſion in this Point, eaſy for theſe two ends: That either they finding his Majeſty indifferent in it, might grow ſo too; Men being commonly apt to pull the harder, the faſter another holds: or elſe (if they inſiſted upon it, ſince he was already ingag'd) to value a thing which coſt

all that was agreed in y^e Treaty between the
Land, & y^t was to paſs in their intended Negotiation
with France, the Hol[illegible] avoided calling it a Mediation

the King nothing, for as much Obligation as he could to the *States*; which might make way for ſome material Return upon another Occaſion.

Monſieur *De Wit* was very much pleas'd with his Majeſty's Compliance; and ſaid, If Sir *William* knew any Particulars which he deſir'd ſhould be added, or chang'd, for common Convenience, he doubted not but they two ſhould agree upon them in twenty four Hours; but ſeem'd unwilling it ſhould paſs thro other Hands, or remain undone. After much Diſcourſe, and no way left for Sir *William* to avoid the thing, it was agreed that it ſhould be done; but with an ample Article for the meeting of Commiſſioners. Accordingly a Provifional Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between *England* and the *United Provinces*, was concluded and ſign'd on
1668 the 17th of *February* 1668. N. S. But 'tis obſervable, that Sir *William* was ſomewhat troubled he could not evade the Performance of his former Promiſe, the Earl of *Arlington* having inform'd him, That his Majeſty would rather have it otherwiſe: But he thought it had been worſe in leaving a Diſſatisfaction and Diſtruſt between the two Nations. And beſides, the Lord-Keeper in a Letter to Sir *William*, ſeem'd to lay no weight upon it, if done in the manner above-mention'd. *And I know*, ſaid Sir *William* in a Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, *you both put a great deal, upon any Perſon's, employ'd by his Majeſty, being and paſſing for an* HONEST MAN. 'Tis certain, as Sir *William* expreſs'd it in another Letter to the Lord Keeper, That *the general Opinion conceiv'd in* Holland, *of thoſe two Miniſters Honour and Sincerity, and unbyaſs'd Purſuit of the true Intereſt of* Great Britain, *very much contributed to the Succeſs of this Negotiation; and was the Spring of the Credit Sir* William Temple *gain'd in the Conduct of it.*

In

In the ſame Letter * Sir *William* acknowledges the Lord Keeper's good Wiſhes, that he ſhould be Secretary of State, 'Which, *he ſaid*, would be as 'agreeable to his Inclinations as any thing he knew; 'but that he ſhould never preſume to ask any thing 'from his Majeſty, reſerving his Station, and e- 'very thing elſe wholly to his Pleaſure and Choice, 'whilſt he had the Honour of ſerving him. Be- 'ſides, he found every body in *Holland* and in '*Flanders*, deſign'd another Poſt for him, at leaſt 'for a Month or Two that Spring, if the Treaty 'between *France* and *Spain* happen'd to be at *Aix-* '*la-Chapelle*; believing, that having had ſo much 'part in what had been done already, he was 'likely to have ſome ſhare in that too: And, he 'confeſs'd, he might take the contrary for a Mark 'of his Majeſty's not being ſatisfy'd with him, in 'what was paſt, and becauſe he was before-hand 'inſtructed in the Buſineſs, and acquainted with 'Perſons, he ſhould be very well pleas'd with it, 'if his Majeſty found none to ſerve him better; 'eſpecially if by the Marquis *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s 'going thither himſelf, his Majeſty ſhould think fit 'to ſend a Perſon of great Quality, to maintain 'the Port of the Employment, and give Sir *Wil-* '*liam Temple* his Part under his Shade.' The King was too well ſatisfy'd in Sir *William Temple*'s Abilities and late Services, either to employ any other, or to ſuffer him to act a ſecond Part in the enſuing Treaty; and therefore aſſoon as the Ratifications of the *Triple Alliance* were exchang'd at the *Hague*, which was done aſſoon as the Treaty of *Navigation* and *Commerce* was ſigned, Sir *William Temple* repair'd to *Bruſſels* with his former Character of Reſident; and from thence was ſent to

* *Dated* February 22. 1668. N. S.

Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Quality of his Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary.

Sir *William Temple* at his Audience of Leave of the States-General, told them, 'That the King his Maſter having ſeen ſo happily finiſh'd, three ſeveral 'Treaties with their High Mightineſſes, by which the 'common Security of both Nations was eſtabliſh'd, 'the Seeds of all new Differences entirely rooted 'out, and the way laid open to the Peace of Chriſten-'dom, in caſe their Neighbours proceeded with the 'ſame good Faith, wherewith his Majeſty and their 'High Mightineſſes had begun: His Majeſty thought 'he had no further Occaſion for his Services there, 'becauſe Miniſters are only proper for faſtning 'and cementing a Confidence and Friendſhip; 'whereas theirs was ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd, as not 'to require any, even the moſt ordinary Supports. 'That for this Reaſon his Majeſty had order'd his 'return to *Bruſſels*, there to purſue, in Concert 'with their High Mightineſſes, in favour of their 'Neighbours, what they had here concluded for 'themſelves. That his Majeſty had commanded 'him to aſſure their High Mightineſſes, that as all 'things are beſt preſerv'd by the ſame means they 'are begun; ſo his Majeſty would not fail, for 'ever to obſerve what he had now concluded, with 'the ſame Faith, Sincerity, and open Heart, 'wherewith he gave Command they ſhould be 'negotiated. And his Majeſty did not in the 'leaſt doubt, that their Lordſhips were entirely 'reſolv'd to proceed after the ſame manner, which 'was the higheſt Mark of Confidence to be given 'at preſent. That for his own particular, he 'could not part from thence, without expreſſing 'his ſatisfaction, at the ſincere and judicious Pro-'ceeding of their High Mightineſſes in the whole 'Courſe of theſe Negotiations; particularly in 'the Prudence they had ſhewn in the Choice of

'thoſe

'those Commissioners they gave him; their Candor, 'Sincerity, great Capacity and Application, having 'very much contributed to the quick and happy 'conclusion of those Treaties. And as he should 'ever bear in mind with Joy and Pleasure, the 'short space of time he had pass'd with their High 'Mightinesses, in whatever part of the World he 'might be; so he should always contribute, by 'his good Wishes, and whatever Services he might 'be capable of, to the Support of this good Intelli-'gence, so happily restor'd between both Nations.' The Pensioner made a suitable Answer to Sir *William Temple*'s Speech; and the States General wrote * the following Letter to the King of *Great Britain.*

SIR,

IT is merely in compliance to Custom, that we do our selves the Honour to write to your Majesty, in answer to the Letter you were pleas'd to send us, relating to Sir William Temple: *For we can add nothing to what your Majesty has seen your self of his Conduct, by the Success of the Negotiation committed to his Charge. As it is a thing without Example, that in so few Days three such important Treaties have been concluded, so we can say, that the Address, Vigilance, and Sincerity of this Minister, are also without Example. We are extremely oblig'd to your Majesty, that you are pleas'd to make use of an Instrument so proper for confirming that strict Amity, and good Intelligence, which the Treaty at* Breda *had so happily began: And we are bold to say, that if your Majesty continues to make use of such Ministers, the Knot will grow too fast ever to be untied; and your Majesty will ever find a most particular satisfaction by it, as well as We, who after*

* February 18, 1668, N. S.

our

our moſt hearty Thanks to your Majeſty for this Favour, ſhall pray God, &c. *And remain*, SIR, *&c.*

Four days before, Monſieur *De Wit* wrote to the Earl of *Arlington*, 'That as it was impoſſible to 'ſend a Miniſter of greater Capacity, or more pro-'per for the Temper and Genius of that Nation,' than Sir *William Temple*; ſo he believ'd no other 'Perſon, either would or could, more equitably 'judg of the Diſpoſition, wherein he found the 'States, to anſwer the good Intentions of the 'King of *Great Britain*. And that Sir *William Tem-'ple* ought not to be leſs ſatisfy'd with the rea-'dineſs with which the States had paſs'd over to 'the concluding and ſigning of thoſe Treaties for 'which he came there, than their High Mighti-'neſſes were with his Conduct, and agreeable man-'ner of Dealing, in the whole Courſe of his Ne-'gotiation.'

The *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague* was extreme uneaſy, to ſee a good Correſpondence reſtor'd between the two Maritime Powers, and an entire Confidence ſettled between Sir *William Temple* and Monſieur *De Wit*: and being apprehenſive that *England* labour'd to engage the States in a War againſt *France*, by delaying the concluſion of the Peace between that Crown and *Spain*; and thereby giving the *French* King a Preſence, and indeed a Provocation to evade his former Promiſe: He preſs'd * their High Mightineſſes, both to renew their Orders to their Deputies at *Bruſſels*, to demand a poſitive Declaration from the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*, upon the Alternative; and to deſire Sir *William Temple* to attend him with all ſpeed, for the ſame purpoſe. Sir *William*, who needed no Spur in an Affair he wiſh'd well over, ſet out from

* *See Count* D'Eſtrades *Letters, &c.* Vol. V. p. 242.

the

the *Hague* on the 23d of *February* 1668. N. S. in one of the States Yachts that was to attend him to *Antwerp*; where having met the Marquiſs, he ſtaid there till the 27th, when he follow'd him to *Bruſſels*. At his firſt Audience at *Antwerp*, Sir *William Temple* preſs'd the Marquiſs to accept the *Alternative*, and to receive it as the greateſt Effect of his *Britannick* Majeſty's good Will to the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and a ſtep towards a future *Defenſive League* between *England*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, for the general Safety of the *Spaniſh* Dominions: And did ſo dextrouſly ſurmount all his dilatory Excuſes, chiefly grounded on the defect of Powers, that at laſt the Marquiſs told him, He would comply, provided *France* could be brought to ratify the *Renunciation* in Form, in the Parliament of *Paris*; to content themſelves with an *Equivalent* for the conquer'd Towns, which advanced ſo far into the heart of the Country; and laſtly, if, in caſe of a Refuſal from *France*, he might be aſſur'd beforehand, of the Aſſiſtance of *England* and *Holland*, by a common Concert. Sir *William Temple* told him, 'That for the two Points of the *Renunciation* 'and the *Equivalent*, he might reckon, from the 'joint Offices of *England* and *Holland*, upon all 'they could obtain from *France* in favour of *Spain*. 'For as to the *Equivalent*, their own Intereſt oblig'd 'them to it, that they might leave ſo much a 'ſtronger Barrier between *France* and *Holland*. 'And as for the *RENUNCIATION*, they de'ſir'd it too, but did not conceive it a thing up'on which *Spain* ought to be too ſtiff; ſince the '*GUARANTY* of *England* and *Holland* was *the* '*ONLY STRONG AND SOLID Renunciation* that could be made upon this Occaſion. As 'for the Aſſurance he deſir'd, of being aſſiſted in 'caſe of a Refuſal from *France*, Sir *William* ſaid, 'he did not doubt the Marquiſs had heard at leaſt,

'the Subſtance of their ſecret Articles to that purpoſe; becauſe the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague* had told him, that a *Jew* of *Amſterdam* had ſent him a Copy of them; by which he muſt needs be well inform'd of their mutual Obligations, as well as of their Intentions, not only to aſſiſt *Spain* in caſe of a Refuſal from *France*, but to engage themſelves in the Quarrel by an open War, of all their Forces againſt that Crown.' After much Diſcourſe to this purpoſe, Sir *William* thought fit to read to him the three ſeparate Articles of the *Triple Alliance*; to let him know clearly, how far he might hope from *England* and *Holland* in the Point of the *Renunciation*; and to remove a thought which *Don Eſtevan de Gamarra* had infus'd into the Marquiſs, as coming from Sir *William Temple*, That there was ſomething in the Articles, by which it ſhould appear, that *England* and *Holland* would not force *Spain* in caſe of a Refuſal. The Marquiſs took no offence at the two firſt Articles, and only ſaid, he could not comprehend, why the States being newly Enemies to *Portugal*, and having ſtill a Controverſy with them, ſhould deſire ſo much to ſee them ſtrengthen'd, by a Peace with *Spain?* Sir *William* told him, 'His Opinion was, that 'they drove on this Affair, becauſe they believ'd, 'that without a Peace with *Portugal*, *Spain* could 'not recover it ſelf enough to make Head againſt '*France*, and reduce the Affairs of *Chriſtendom* to the '*BALLANCE* that was neceſſary.' The Marquiſs was ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, and ſpoke no more of the Buſineſs of the *Renunciation*. But upon the *Aſſiſtance* promis'd by *England* and *Holland*, he ſaid, That the Words of the third Article were ſtrong enough, but in too general Terms; and that after he ſhould have accepted the *Alternative*, *France* might yet, during the next Month, or *April*, make ſome Enterprizes upon the Places

on

on this ſide, before the new Levies could be rais'd, and take ſome of them, if he were not furniſh'd with three or four thouſand Foot; which might be eaſily done from *Holland*. Sir *William* told him, That *England* and *Holland* could not concert further with him before he had accepted the *Alternative*, and by that means caſt the refuſal upon *France*, and by conſequence the Force of their Arms, in caſe of a War, which they would not declare till they were aſſur'd upon which ſide the Refuſal would lie.' The Marquiſs, whoſe Aim was to engage *England* and *Holland* beforehand in the Quarrel, and thereby exaſperate *France*, by being threatned more directly; and who well knew, that 'twas the Intereſt of *Spain* rather to carry on the War, with the Aſſiſtance of the two Maritime Powers, than be forc'd to a Peace upon their late Project: The Marquiſs, I ſay, was large in arguing to Sir *William Temple*, that the Intereſt of *England* lay in a joint War, rather than a Peace between the two Crowns; and that his *Britannick* Majeſty's End muſt have been hitherto, only to engage *Holland* with him in the Quarrel: and thereupon the Marquiſs reaſon'd from Hiſtory, and the preſent Genius of the *Engliſh* People and Parliament. Sir *William Temple* endeavour'd to make him eaſy in that Point, by aſſuring him, 'That whatever other Kings had thought or done, and whatever the People wiſh'd or talk'd; the King, in whoſe ſole Diſpoſition all Matters of Peace and War lie, would by no Arts or Conſiderations be induc'd to break from *Holland*, in the Management of this Buſineſs; nor make one ſtep further in the *Spaniards* Defence, than the *Dutch* were willing to join in: That his *Intereſt* as well as *Honour* lay in this Reſolution, agreed by ſo many ſolemn Treaties; and that the *Engliſh* as well as the *Dutch* could very well content themſelves with a *Peace*, and purſuit of their *Commerce*, provided

'they were not alarm'd too much, and too near, 'with the Growth of the *French* Greatneſs.' The Marquiſs would not be ſatisfy'd till Sir *William* had given an Account of what paſs'd in this Conference to Monſieur *De Wit*; who thereupon entirely approv'd Sir *William*'s Zeal, Diligence, and Conduct, for the Advancement of their Common Affair; and communicated to him the Sentiments of the States Deputies, 'That it was abſolutely ne-'ceſſary for the Marquiſs to declare himſelf with-'out further Delay or Reſerve upon the Alterna-'tive: For ſince the King of *France* had ſeen by 'his laſt Conqueſts, how weak and negligent the '*Spaniards* were, 'twas to be fear'd, that if the 'Marquiſs ſhould let the Month of *March* expire 'without declaring himſelf, as they deſir'd, his 'moſt Chriſtian Majeſty might be very glad, after 'the Expiration of that Term, not to be oblig'd 'by virtue of his Word given, to make the Peace 'upon the *Alternative*, but might make uſe of the 'Time, and the Diſorder of the *Spaniards*, to ſur-'prize *Luxemburgh*, and a great part of what re-'main'd to the King of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*. 'And that the States were intirely reſolv'd, in 'caſe of refuſal, or any Evaſions from the King 'of *France*, after it had been notify'd to him, 'that the Marquiſs had accepted either part of the '*Alternative*, to execute in the moſt vigorous man-'ner, what was contain'd in the firſt ſeparate Ar-'ticle; and, by conſequence, jointly with *England*, 'to break into open War againſt *France*, to act in 'concert, not only for Defence of the *Netherlands*, 'but alſo, and above all, to attack and infeſt *France* 'by Sea, by Deſcents and Invaſions into the Coun-'try.' The Deputies of the States to the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, being by this time * arri-

* February 24. N. S. 1668.

ved

ved at *Antwerp*, Sir *William Temple* and they had a joint Audience of the Marquiſs, wherein they preſs'd him very much on the *Alternative* and the *Truce*: and he, on the contrary, preſs'd them to a *Concert*, for the Defence of *Flanders*; and, in the mean time, to make their Preparations for War. Sir *William Temple* told him, 'What Preparations 'the King of *Great Britain* and the States General 'had already made; but deſired him to let them 'know, by his declaring himſelf upon the *Alterna-'tive*, againſt which of the two Parties, the *French* 'or the *Spaniards*, ſuch Preparations muſt be em-'ploy'd?' And thereupon deliver'd to him a Memorial to the ſame Effect with what they had told him, *viz.* 'How glorious it would be to him, how 'advantageous to the common Ends of Peace, and 'how neceſſary for preſerving to *Spain* the remain-'der of *Flanders*, that by virtue of his Powers his 'Excellency would make the firſt ſteps in this great 'Affair, by conſenting readily to the *Alternative* 'and Truce, and to the diſpatching of Plenipo-'tentiaries to *Aix-la-Chapelle*'. The Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*, ſeeing himſelf ſo cloſely preſs'd, did, the next * Day in the Evening, declare, that he accepted the Truce to the ſhorter Time, *viz.* the laſt Day of *March*, offer'd by *France*, in order to be extended to the laſt Day of *May*, (propo'd by the King of *England* and the States General) and further, if it were thought neceſſary. Which Anſwer Sir *William Temple* and the States Deputies diſpatch'd the 27th of *Febr.* N. S. in the Morning, to Monſieur *Van Beuningen* the States Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and Sir *John Trevor* Envoy Extraordinary of the King of *Great Britain*, at *Paris*.

About a Week after Sir *Will. Temple* and the *Dutch Deputies* at *Bruſſels*, being apprehenſive that ſome

* February 26. N. S.

Scruple

Scruple might have been rais'd at the *French* Court, for want of Notice given in due Form of the Marquiſs's Acceptation of the Truce; they diſpatch'd thither * a ſecond Expreſs with an authentick Act; whereby the Marquiſs authoriz'd his *Britannick* Majeſty's and the States Miniſters at *Paris*, to make the ſaid Notification, and thereupon to regulate the Truce on that ſide. Moreover, to the end that no Objection might be made by *France* againſt the Concluſion of this Truce, in order to an enſuing Treaty of Peace, Sir *William Temple* and the *Dutch* Deputies ſent, at the ſame time, to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters at *Paris*, the Anſwer which the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo* return'd to them the Day before; whereby he alſo declar'd his Acceptation of the *Alternative*. *This is ſo full and ſo direct to the Ends of our late Treaty*, (ſaid Sir *William* in his Letter to Sir *John Trevor*) *that we have now nothing left to do on this ſide, the remainder of the whole Negotiation lying on your part at* Paris, *which we are here very much pleas'd with, ſeeing it is devolv'd to ſo much abler Hands. I hope you will place the whole Strength of his Majeſty's and the* States General's *Credit in that Court, upon an immediate Conſent to the Suſpenſion of Arms, knowing how dangerous all new Accidents may prove, to the fair Hopes and Proſpect, in which we are at preſent of a Peace; and withal, how far his Majeſty and the States are engag'd to take part in any Action that ſhall begin, after the Marquiſs's accepting the* Alternative, *as well as all other Points of their late Projects for bringing about ſo happy an End. For a good Preſage of a greater Peace, we receiv'd here the News of that of* Portugal, *the very Evening which brought us ſo happily the Marquiſs's Anſwer upon the* Alternative; *which has ſo much rais'd the Hearts of the* Spaniards *here, that*

* March 5. N. S.

we

we are likely to have leſs Thanks for preſſing them ſo far to a prejudicial Peace, as they eſteem it on this ſide. But ſince they are already engag'd, it will depend wholly upon France *to hinder the Concluſion of this in the ſame Seaſon with the other; which I will believe them too wiſe to do, as well as too conſtant to the Aſſurances they have already given his Majeſty, the States, and ſeveral other Princes in this Point; of which the immediate conſenting to a Suſpenſion of Arms, will ſhew the Meaning and Effect.*

Nor were theſe Hints, Informations and Surmizes of Sir *William Temple* to Sir *John Trevor*, either uſeleſs or prepoſterous: For by this time the King of *France* being return'd from his Expedition into *Franche-Compté*, after having made an entire Conqueſt of that Province in a Fortnight, in the moſt rigorous Seaſon of the Year; his Miniſters fluſh'd with his Succeſſes, began to alter their Language, openly expreſs'd their Reſentment of the Meaſures lately concerted between *England* and *Holland*; and talk'd, as if the taking their Maſter at his Word, by inſiſting on his former Promiſe, were preſcribing him Laws. This plainly appears from ſeveral Letters of Monſieur *De Lionne*, Secretary of State to the *French* King, to Count *D'Eſtrades*: *I can tell beforehand*, ſays he in * one of them, *that I don't believe the King to be of a Temper to ſuffer himſelf to be ſhav'd againſt the Grain, by any body.* In another Letter M. *De Lionne* pretends, That *the King*, his Maſter, *was entirely diſengag'd of his Offer* (of a Truce) *by the Marquiſs* De Caſtel-Rodrigo's *Refuſal to accept it.* He adds, That he had told Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, in the firſt Conference he had with

* *The* French *runs thus:* Je puis dire par avance, que je ne crois pas que le Roi ſoit d'Humeur à ſe laiſſer faire la barbe à contrepoil, par qui que ce ſoit, *&c. See Count* D'Eſtrades's *Letters and Memoirs*, Vol. V. p. 247. & ſeq.

him,

him, *That the Peace would infallibly have been made upon either of the Alternatives, if the League of the* Hague *had not been concluded: But that League having given a Proſpect to the World, which might induce People to think, that whatever the King would have done of his own Motion, and to gain the Glory of* MODERATION, *which now was the only thing he wanted, would at preſent be the Effect of Compulſion for fear of the League: This appear'd to him* (*Monſieur* De Lionne) *of ſo hard Digeſtion for a Prince of the King's Temper, who prefer'd his Reputation before any other Conſideration, that he knew not what to ſay to it. That indeed, he could not ſufficiently admire, conſidering the Prudence of thoſe who manag'd this Negotiation, that they did not, as it were, bury, in the ſecret Articles, not only the Third of them, but alſo whatever might look like imperiouſly preſcribing Law to the King, or what Conduct he ought to follow.* Moreover, Monſieur *Van Beuningen* and Sir *John Trevor*, having on the Third of *March* N. S. notify'd, in a Memorial to the *French* King, the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s Acceptation of the Truce; and deſir'd his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to give his Orders for the Execution of his Promiſe, in relation to the Security of the ſtrong Towns in *Flanders*, till the laſt day of *March*; they receiv'd two long Anſwers from the King, and a Letter from Monſieur *De Lionne*, importing, in ſubſtance, 'That the 'Motive that induc'd the King, ſix Months before, 'to grant that Suſpenſion, was only to make way 'for an Accommodation during the Winter, whilſt 'things remain'd in the ſame Condition on both 'ſides: all new Accidents in War generally occa'ſioning Alterations in a Treaty of Peace. That 'the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*, by affected Delays 'and Difficulties, had refus'd that Offer, and un'profitably conſum'd that precious time, of ſix 'Months, about the bare Preliminary Point of

'agreeing

'agreeing to a Place of Treaty; the *Spaniards* 'pretending, contrary to all Cuſtom, and even to 'the Prejudice of the forwarding of the Peace, to 'carry the Negotiation of it to very remote Pla- 'ces, out of the ſight of the Potentates and Prin- 'ces who were moſt concern'd in it. That the 'Miniſters of *Spain*, accordingly, who ſerv'd their 'Maſter in different Places, had ſhewn ſuch pre- 'poſterous Contradiction one to another in this 'Point, that to this very day, neither his Majeſty, 'nor the Kings and Princes Mediators, nor indeed 'any body knew yet their true Intentions. That 'the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s chuſing *Aix-la- 'Chapelle* for the Place of Treaty, was diſapprov'd 'both by the Queen Regent of *Spain*, and by the 'Pope's Nuncio, whom alone ſhe had acknowledg'd 'as Mediator. That Cardinal *Viſconti*, the Nuncio 'at *Madrid*, had by Letter aſſur'd the Abbot *Vibo*, '(then at *Paris*) that the *Spaniards* would treat no 'where but at *Rome*; and that the Council at *Ma- 'drid* made great Complaints of the Marquiſs's 'falſe ſteps in this Affair. That tho the remain- 'ing part of the Month of *March* be not ſufficient 'to make the leaſt Progreſs in the Negotiation of 'Peace, the Place of Aſſembly not being yet well 'ſettled, and the Plenipotentiaries that were to 'repair thither not yet in their way, by reaſon of 'the *Spaniards* delaying to grant a Paſſport for 'Monſieur *Colbert*; and tho on the other hand, it 'was eaſy to judg, that the Inſtances now made to 'his (moſt Chriſtian) Majeſty, to grant the ſaid 'Suſpenſion, were rather in order to ſecure all 'the Places of the Monarchy of *Spain*, than, as 'the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters ſaid in the cloſe 'of their Memorial, to *get from his Majeſty a Proof 'of his ſincere Intentions for an Accommodation*: Yet, 'out of *Complaiſance* for his *Britannick* Majeſty and 'the States-General, he would forbid all the Com-

'manders of his Forces, either to attack or sur-
'prize any fortify'd Place of the *Spaniards* till the
'last day of *March*. But as in case the said
'Marquiss should grant a Passport for the Sieur *Col-*
'*bert*, to repair to *Aix*, it were unpleasing if he
'should go thither to no purpose; the King de-
'sired to be forthwith satisfy'd by Mr. *Van*
'*Beuningen* and Sir *John Trevor*, from Sir *William*
'*Temple* and the *Dutch* Deputies, whether the Mar-
'quiss *De Castel-Rodrigo*'s Full-Powers were in due
'Form, and such as one might treat with him
'with Safety and Honour; and particularly, whe-
'ther he was empower'd to treat by a Deputy.
'And that his Majesty being willing *inviolably* to
'perform his *Royal Word*, he declar'd again, that
'notwithstanding the entire Conquest of *Franche-*
'*Compté*, he would still be satisfy'd with either of
'the *Alternatives*, provided the same were accepted
'before the end of *March*; not in general and
'captious Terms, as the Marquiss had done already,
'but clearly and without any Ambiguity.' These Answers and Letter were immediately transmitted to Count *D'Estrades*, with Orders to send Copies of them to five several Ministers of the *French* King, to be communicated to the respective Kings and Princes near whom they resided; to serve, as it were, for a *Manifesto*. And, indeed, notwithstanding the Promise contain'd in those Answers, the *French*, at this very time, besieg'd, and in few days, made themselves Masters of *Genap*.

From all these Passages, 'It seem'd plain to * Sir
'*William Temple*, that *France* desired to pursue the
'War, but fear'd *England* engaging in it; and to
'hinder that, would use all the Address that
'could be, to lay the Obstruction of Peace upon
'the *Spaniards*: That the latter, on the other side,

* *See his Letters*, Vol. I. p. 311. & seq.

France to hinder England engaging in y^e War desir'd
used all y^e Address y^t cd be to lay y^e Obstruction
ce upon y^e Spaniards, who desired to continue
y^e Warr the rather Becaus of y^e Assistance

of England & Holland

'desir'd to continue the War, provided they might 'be sure of the Assistance of *England* and *Holland*: 'And that, to that end, if they play'd their Game 'well, they would be sure to retort the Address 'of *France* upon them, and lay the Blame of the 'War at their doors; without which they had 'no Hopes of *Holland*'s falling into their Party: 'who whether they were partial to the *French* or 'no in the Quarrel, were certainly partial to the 'Peace, and would not be drawn to share in the 'War, but upon the last Necessity.' Therefore Sir *William* judg'd very right, that his Business was at present, to induce the Marquis to clear the two Scruples made by the *French*, upon the Validity of his Powers, and the Choice of one or other of the *Alternatives*; which, however, could not be easily brought about, considering the repeated Assurances the Marquis had receiv'd, that Don *Juan* was upon his Departure from *Madrid*, with a Supply of eight or ten thousand native *Spaniards*, and three Millions of Crowns in Silver-Bars, or Bills of Exchange.

Before Sir *William* had an Audience of the *Spanish* Governor upon those Points, he answer'd Sir *John Trevor*'s last Dispatches as follows: 'The *French* 'King's Answer is full and fair, in my Apprehen-'sion; what it will appear in the *Marquis's*, I know 'not: for since that Court cavils at his Accepta-'tion of the *Alternative*, and calls it *captious*, I 'know not whether he may not have his Revenge 'at theirs. Monsieur *Lionne*'s Letter, I confess, 'looks of a very different Stile from his Master's, 'and, in my Judgment, artificial: Nor do I un-'derstand great Ministers reasoning upon the In-'tentions of Crowns, rather from common Re-'port, from Passages of private Men's Letters, or 'of Books made for Argument; than from the 'open and positive Declarations of Ministers, who

'ought to know their Powers beſt, and how to 'uſe 'em: Beſides, they give the *Spaniards* very fair 'Play againſt them in this kind of War, in an 'Action I am very much unſatisfy'd in; which is, 'beginning and continuing the Siege of *Genap*, 'about four Leagues from hence (*Bruſſels*) now 'the eighth Day after the Agreement granted by '*France* for the Suſpenſion of Arms, notwithſtand-'ing our ſignification of it to the Commander of 'their Troops: Beſides the ſeizing of another 'Caſtle five Days after the ſaid Agreement, tho the 'Courier came in two Days from *Paris*, and the 'ſame haſte might as eaſily have been made upon 'the other Errand. In ſhort, if *France* pretends 'to be believ'd here, they muſt give *Deeds* as well 'as *Words*; and will ſhew the Sincerity of their 'Intentions for Peace, by conſenting to the Truce 'to the end of *May*, accepted already here; ſince 'if there ſhould be any Defect in the Marquiſs's Pow-'ers, it may eaſily be ſupply'd with a little Time, 'and any Delay in the Choice of the *Alternative* 'repair'd. In the mean while, I will hope by the 'next Courier, to give you ſatisfaction in thoſe 'Points; for I neither know why the Marquiſs 'ſhould be difficult in making his Choice upon the '*Alternative*, or expoſing the material Clauſes of 'his Powers, which I will aſſure you, are as full, 'in my apprehenſion, as can be granted. This 'Courier goes to you with a Duplicate of Mon-'ſieur *Colbert*'s Paſs, (which was ſent ſome time 'ſince to the *Internuncio* at *Aix*) with the Orders 'ſent out for the Suſpenſion of Arms, and with 'the Marquiſs's naming a Day for the Baron *De* '*Bergeyk*'s coming to *Aix*, in caſe Monſieur *Colbert* 'can be ready in that time: Tho I do not ſee how 'the Treaty can begin, till his Majeſty's and the 'States Miniſters can be there, as well as the two 'Principals; and in that regard, as well as many

France is not to be depended upon, till others. Then give deeds as well as words, & will shew ye ily of ye intentions for peace

'others, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to obtain '*France*'s Conſent to the Truce, if they would 'have us believe they intend the Peace; and in 'the mean time, to procure Orders for the Suſ-'penſion of Arms before *Genap*, and all other 'Places.'

Two days after, (*March* 15. N. S.) at an Audience Sir *William Temple* had, jointly with the *Dutch* Deputies, of the Marquiſs; the latter, after ſome difficulty, was content to declare his Choice of the *Alternative*, which was to leave *France* their Conqueſts of laſt Campaign; and likewiſe, to promiſe the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters a Tranſcription of the moſt material Clauſes in his Powers: both which they tranſmitted to Sir *John Trevor* and Monſieur *Van Beuningen* at *Paris*, to enable them to remove that Court's laſt Objections. The Marquiſs took that occaſion to make juſt Complaints of the *French* breaking the Suſpenſion, by the Attempt upon *Genap*, which was yielded to them the Day before, upon Conditions; and inſiſted, that the King of *England* and the *States* ſhould oblige *France* to reſtore that Place, within the time of the Suſpenſion: which Sir *William* thought a very reaſonable Demand. On the other hand, the Marquiſs ſeem'd to apprehend, that the Effects of *England* and the *States* having obtain'd from him, all that *France* could demand in purſuit of their former Propoſals, or the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in purſuit of the *Hague* Treaty, would be a ſudden throwing off the Mask on the *French* ſide; and making what Advances they could in the War, before *England* and *Holland* were in a Condition to enter upon Defence of *Flanders*: And therefore preſs'd their Arming, and concerting how to proceed in ſuch a Caſe. Hereupon it was Sir *William Temple*'s Opinion *, that the King ſhould encou-

* *See his Letters*, Vol. I. p. 320. & ſeq.

rage

rage *Holland* that was ſo near, and already arm'd, to furniſh the *Spaniards* with three or four thouſand Foot, for the Defence of their Towns, upon the firſt Motion of the *French* to attack any of them; with Aſſurance, that his Majeſty would fall into the ſame Courſe with all poſſible Speed and Vigour. This Thought, Sir *William* communicated, by Letter, to the Earl of *Arlington*; adding, 'That if 'he (Sir *William*) knew how far he might engage 'his Majeſty to arm in Defence of the *Spaniſh Ne-* 'therlands, ſince *Spain* had accepted all that *Eng-* 'land and *Holland* propos'd in their Treaty, he 'would endeavour to induce the Marquiſs to con- 'clude a Treaty to that purpoſe, and for fur- 'niſhing his Majeſty thereupon with certain Sums, 'at certain times, thereby to make the Debt, at 'leaſt from *Spain*, a certain thing whenever the 'Mony could be found: Hoping to receive ſome 'Light from his Lordſhip upon this, in Anſwer to 'a former Letter of his (Sir *William*'s) and in the 'mean while, would prepare the matter with the 'Marquiſs.'

To this purpoſe we muſt obſerve, that the King having, on the 10th of *February* 166$\frac{7}{8}$. O. S. met his Parliament, his Majeſty acquainted them with the *League* he had lately enter'd into *for an efficacious Mediation of Peace between the two Crowns*; and told them, That *the Poſture of his Neighbours abroad, and the Conſequences of this new Alliance would oblige him to ſet out a conſiderable Fleet to Sea, and to fortify ſome of his Ports.* But tho the Parliament, and indeed the whole Nation, (the Papiſts only excepted) were, as was hinted before, extremely well pleas'd with theſe new Counſels; yet the Commons did not think fit to grant the King any Supplies, before they had enquir'd into former Miſmanagements; particularly, who were the Adviſers of the laſt *Dutch* War. The Earl of *Arlington*

Arlington having given Sir *William Temple* an account of Affairs in *England*, Sir *William* wrote * to him thereupon, 'He was ſorry his Majeſty ſhould meet 'with any thing he did not look for at the open- 'ing of this Seſſion; but confeſs'd, he did not ſee 'why his Majeſty ſhould *not only conſent, but encou-* 'rage any Inquiries or Diſquiſitions they deſired 'to make into the Miſcarriages of the late War, 'as well as he had done already in the matter of 'Accounts: For, if it be not neceſſary, it is a '*King's Eaſe and Happineſs to content his People.* 'That he doubted, as Men will never part wil- 'lingly with their Mony, unleſs they be well per- 'ſuaded it will be employ'd directly to thoſe Ends 'for which they gave it; ſo they will never be 'ſatisfy'd with a Government, unleſs they ſee Men 'are *choſen* into Offices and Imployments, by be- 'ing fit for them; *continued* for diſcharging them 'well, *rewarded* for extraordinary Merit, and '*puniſh'd* for remarkable Faults. That beſides, in 'theſe caſes his Majeſty diſcharg'd the Hardſhip 'and Severity of all Puniſhments upon the Par- 'liament, and committed no Force upon the Gen- 'tleneſs of his own Nature, while his Subjects ſaw, 'that no *Tenderneſs of their Prince, nor Corruption* '*of Miniſters, could preſerve them long from paying* '*what they owe to any Forfeits of their Duty.* Nor, 'indeed, could any Prince do Juſtice to thoſe that 'ſerve him well, without puniſhing thoſe that 'ſerve him ill; ſince that is to make their *Condi-* '*tions equal, whoſe Deſerts are different.*' Political Maxims, which, if rightly practis'd, would never fail to make both Prince and People happy! *I ſhould not*, added Sir *William Temple*, by way of Caution, *ſay this to any Perſon but your Lordſhip, to whom I know part of that Juſtice is due. But to ſay*

* March 2. N. S. *See his Letters*, Vol. I. p. 303.

Truth,

Truth, the Progreſs and End of the laſt War, went ſo much to my Heart, and I have heard ſo much lately from Monſieur De Wit, *concerning the Carriage of it on our ſide; eſpecially what fell under his Eye, while he was abroad in the Fleet; that I cannot but think the Parliament may be excus'd for their Warmth in this Purſuit. But your Lordſhip can beſt diſcern by the Courſe of Debates, whether this proceeds from a ſteddy Intention upon a general Good, or from ſome accidental Diſtempers, from which the greateſt and beſt Aſſemblies of Men are not always free; eſpecially when they have continu'd long together.* The Earl of *Arlington*, whoſe Judgment and Principles were not yet debauch'd and corrupted by the Artifices and Mony of *France*, and who, before Sir *William* ſet out for *Holland*, expreſs'd to him his *Senſe of the abſolute Neceſſity there was, for his Majeſty to fall into a perfect Intelligence with his Parliament; eſpecially being engag'd into an appearance of Action abroad, by the Force of this preſent Conjuncture:* The Earl, I ſay, took well, and improv'd Sir *William*'s Advice; which had that good effect, that the Commons, not long after, voted an Aid of Three Hundred and ten Thouſand Pounds. But the Supplies the Court expected from the Parliament, not being like to bear a proportion with the King's Neceſſities, in caſe he were oblig'd to engage in the War, the Earl of *Arlington* directed Sir *William Temple* to uſe his Endeavours to get Subſidies from *Spain*. Sir *William* omitted no Inſtances upon that Subject; but the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s Coffers being then at a low Ebb, he enter'd into a Negotiation, by his Miniſter at the *Hague*, Don *Eſtevan De Gamarra*, for the Loan of two or three Millions of Gilders, on the Security of ſeveral Towns and Forts in *Gelderland* and *Flanders*; with a Reſolution, however, not to part with any Mony to the *Engliſh*, or to conclude with the *Dutch*, if a

Peace

Peace were like to enſue: ſince the mortgaging thoſe Places to the *Dutch*, and, at the ſame time, yielding ſo many others to the *French*, would leave the *Spaniards* hardly any thing worth their keeping in the *Netherlands*. On the other hand, the Earl of *Arlington*, by the King's ſpecial Command, recommended to Sir *William Temple* the Buſineſs of the *Flag*, as a thing which his Majeſty had extremely at heart. To this, Sir *William* anſwer'd, * 'That he was ſufficiently warn'd upon 'that Point; and he hop'd his Majeſty's Conſtancy 'therein proceeded from a Reſolution to take thoſe 'Courſes and Counſels, which might make him as 'much fear'd abroad, as any of his Anceſtors were, 'in whoſe time that Point was firſt gain'd: For 'without that, the Pretenſions of *England* would 'grow *vain* at preſent, and in time *obſolete*. That 'in the mean while, he hop'd ſome Expedient 'would be foreſeen, that might prevent the In'conveniencies or Unkindneſſes that might happen 'between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* upon this Point, 'in the preſent Conjuncture; and in caſe of Ne'ceſſity, to join their Fleets.'

Upon the preſſing Inſtances of Monſieur *Van Beuningen* and Sir *John Trevor*, for a Prolongation of the Truce till the laſt Day of *May*, Monſieur *De Lionne*, on the 19th of *March* N. S. acquainted them, 'That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to evi'dence his ſincere Intentions for Peace, would 'ſtill content himſelf with either of the *Alterna*'*tives* till the 15th of *May* incluſive; upon condi'tion, that the Treaty that was to be made there'upon, between him and the *Spaniards*, were ſigned, 'ratify'd, and the Ratifications exchang'd before

* *See his Letters*, Vol. I. p. 382.

'the 16th of *May*. 2dly, That to ſhew the Sincerity of this Declaration, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was ready to make a Treaty thereupon with the King of *England* and the *States-General*. And, 3dly, That the moſt Chriſtian King would reſtore, *bonâ fide*, to the King of *Spain*, all the Places and Poſts that might have been poſſeſs'd by his Forces, from the laſt Day of *March* to the 15th of *May*.'

This Letter occaſion'd * an Interview between Monſieur *De Lionne* and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters; wherein Monſieur *Van Beuningen* ſtiffly inſiſted on the Continuation of the Truce to the laſt Day of *May*; urging, that the *States* were under an Engagement about it with the King of *Great Britain*: But Monſieur *De Lionne* was as peremptory, that the moſt Chriſtian King's Anſwer was ſo favourable, that they muſt not expect any other. The Legation of the Electors and Princes of the Empire, aſſembled at *Cologne*, having back'd the Inſtances of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters, for the prolongation of the Truce, receiv'd an Anſwer to the ſame purpoſe, with Exceptions to the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s way of Proceeding, in accepting the *Alternative*, and his Choice of the Place of Treaty; and Inſinuations, as if he had no other Deſign but to gain time, till the arrival of the Supplies from *Spain*.

Upon Advice of what paſs'd at *Paris*, Sir *William Temple*, who with admirable Penetration unravell'd the crafty Mazes and ambitious Turnings of *France*, wrote † to Monſieur *De Wit*, 'That in his Opinion the War ſeem'd inevitable; and, that all the Shews *France* had made of deſiring a Peace, were

* *See Count* D'Eſtrades *Letters*, Vol. V. p. 291, *&c.*
† *See his Letters*, Vol. I. p. 339.

'level'd

'level'd at no other Mark; but to ſlacken the Re-
'ſolutions of the Allies from aſſiſting *Flanders*; or,
'at leaſt, to gain ſix Weeks time to enlarge their
'Conqueſts, before the *Spaniards* could either re-
'ceive the Recruits they expected, or the Aſſiſtance
'of their Neighbours, for defending their moſt con-
'ſiderable Places'. *As to what the* French *propos'd*, added Sir *William*, *of reſtoring all that they ſhall conquer between the end of this Month and the* 15*th of* May, *it ſeems to me to be too groſs, and to diſcover a Contempt of our Wit, as well as of our Treaty. For if all our Offices and Offers, to make* Spain *ratify what the Marquiſs has accepted, are not ſufficient to make* France *forbear attempting new Conqueſts; which, by the way, are the only they offer to reſtore: how can we flatter our ſelves, that we ſhall obtain an entire Reſtitution? I do not ſee how their manner of Chicaning, and making Exceptions to the abſolute Powers of a Miniſter, upon no other ground, than particular Intelligence they pretend to have from* Madrid; *nor the formal Objections they make againſt the Delegation of the Baron* De Bergeyck, *when at the ſame time they ſend Monſieur* Colbert *to* Aix-la-Chapelle: *how, I ſay, all this can admit better Interpretation, with relation to their Intentions for Peace. For in whatever comes from thoſe Miniſters (the* French) *I think one may diſcover an unruly Ambition under a ſtudied Affectation and Diſguiſe, that argues Inſincerity; God only knows the bottom on't. For my part, I will tell you in Confidence, and with my uſual Frankneſs, my Opinion of all this, which is this: That by all our Negotiations, tho never ſo well manag'd; by all our Courtſhip and Careſſes; and by all our repeated good Offices, we ſhall never obtain a Peace from* France; *while they have any promiſing Proſpect; and judg it either to be their Intereſt, or conducing to their Glory, to carry on the War: And therefore, that the only way of diſpoſing them to a Peace, is to order it ſo, that they may*

find their Intereſts in it. This, methinks, we can no otherwiſe do, but by ſhewing them the Strength of our Forces, and our firm Reſolution for War, before it begins: For ſince we only draw a War on our ſelves, by deſiring a Peace too eagerly, we muſt, on the contrary, endeavour to draw on the Peace, by making all poſſible Shews of deſiring a War. Therefore, I think, what remains to be done, is, to haſten our Preparations by Sea and Land, and let the moſt Chriſtian King know, by our Miniſters, That ſince his Majeſty ſtill appears diſpos'd to be ſatisfy'd with the Alternative already accepted by the Marquiſs De Caſtel-Rodrigo; *and that the only Difficulty now lies on the Powers of the ſaid Marquiſs, and the Sincerity of the Court of* Spain's *Intentions: We therefore deſire his Majeſty to give us ſo much time, by a Suſpenſion of Arms, as may be ſufficient to ſend a Diſpatch to* Madrid, *and return to* Paris *with a full and plain Anſwer from the Queen of* Spain *upon the* Alternative. *But, at the ſame time, to add, if his Majeſty refuſes us a Demand ſo neceſſary to the Peace of Chriſtendom, and will ſtill, without regard either to the Offers of* Spain, *or the Offices of the Allies, carry his Arms farther; That upon the firſt Motion he ſhall make, to attack the reſt of the* Netherlands, *we ſhall cauſe our Forces to march to defend them, and endeavour to give him a powerful Diverſion both by Sea and Land.*

In the cloſe of this Letter, Sir *William* aſſur'd Monſieur *De Wit*, 'That all the *Spaniards* of any 'Conſideration deſir'd the Peace: That the Mar-'quiſs had full Powers to conclude it, as he ſhould 'think fit: That all the Delays of *Don Juan* ſeem'd 'only to proceed from the hopes they had at *Ma-'drid*, of a Peace upon the Project of the *Triple 'Alliance:* And that he (Sir *William*) was glad the 'States had ſent Monſieur *Van Beverning* to be at '*Aix*, with the Miniſters of both Crowns; not 'doubting but his *Britannick* Majeſty would do the 'ſame,

'ſame, when he had receiv'd Advice of their De-
'parture.' Monſieur *De Wit* and the States-General, were entirely of the ſame Opinion with Sir *William Temple*, and gave Orders to Monſieur *Van Beuningen* to inſiſt on the Prolongation of the Truce. At the ſame time Monſieur *D'Eſtrades* acquainted * Monſieur *De Lionne*, 'That the Ferment in *Holland* was grown to that height, that 'the Provinces of *Utrecht*, *Groningen*, *Guelder* and '*Overyſſel*, were for giving immediate Aſſiſtance 'to the *Spaniards*, ſince the King refus'd to grant 'the Suſpenſion of Arms till the end of *May*: 'That the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, were 'indeed of another Opinion, *viz.* to deſire the 'King to grant only ſo much time as was neceſ-'ſary from the ſigning, till the Exchange of the 'Ratifications; but that there was no other talk 'than of Leagues and ſtrict Alliances between *Spain*, '*England*, *Sweden*, and the *States*: That the warm-'eſt for the War were the greateſt Enemies of 'Monſieur *De Wit*, and the beſt Friends of the 'Houſe of *Orange*: Which confirm'd Monſieur *De* '*Wit*, in the Information Monſieur *De Lionne* had 'given him; That Monſieur *De Wit* was extremely 'puzzled, and might be oblig'd by the Courſe of 'Affairs, to ſtrike in with the oppoſite Party, who 'had made him Overtures towards an Accommoda-'tion: That there never had been ſo much Con-'fuſion as appear'd to be among the States; who 'in two Days time, had chang'd their Reſolutions 'about the Rendezvous of their Troops: That 'their High-Mightineſſes had ſent him a Depu-'tation, to repreſent to him, how much they were 'griev'd to ſee the King averſe to the Thoughts 'of Peace, and bent upon the Conqueſt of the '*Low-Countries*, at a time when *Caſtel-Rodrigo* ſub-

* *See Count* D'Eſtrades *Letters, &c.* Vol. V. p. 305, *&c.*

'mitted

'mitted to the Conditions that were impos'd 'upon him: That the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador had 'given the Deputies of the Provinces Aſſurances, 'both that the Marquiſs would ſign all that the 'States ſhould think fit; and that the Queen of '*Spain* would ratify all the Contents of the Treaty: 'but had deſir'd them at the ſame time, not to 'abandon them at this Juncture, when *France* had 'form'd a Deſign to ſurprize and oppreſs them. 'That if the Intentions of *France* were ſincere, 'they would not break a Treaty, when no more 'time was demanded than was neceſſary for a 'Courier to bring the Ratification: And that, up-'on the whole matter, they hop'd from the King's 'Generoſity, that he would be pleas'd to grant 'them that Suſpenſion, without which no hopes 'of Peace could be entertain'd; but on the con-'trary, a diſmal expectation of a Fire breaking 'out in all Chriſtendom, which might not be ex-'tinguiſh'd in many Years. That he told them, 'the King's Anſwer to the Electors of the Empire 'contain'd ſufficient Reaſons for his Majeſty's not 'granting the Suſpenſion they demanded; and that 'the *Spaniards* had nothing in view, but to en-'gage the States in a Rupture with *France*, and 'to leave to them afterwards the Charge and Ex-'pence of a tedious War; with the Remorſe of 'having abandon'd the Alliance of a King, to whom 'they had ſo great Obligations. That they ap-'pear'd ſomewhat ſatisfy'd with this, but that 'Monſieur *Van Beuningen* having caution'd them to 'be upon their Guard, they took their Meaſures 'accordingly, and expected ſome Troops from *Lu-'nenburgh*. That in ſhort, the King muſt expect 'a ſudden Declaration of the States againſt *France*, 'but that the Allies not being in a Condition to 'take the Field in two Months, his (moſt Chri-'ſtian) Majeſty *would have ſufficient time to bring*

'*about*

'*about any great Enterprize.* That Monſieur *De* '*Wit* would have much ado to ſupport his Inte-' reſt, tho the Cabals that were againſt him, which ' in all appearance would prevail, would be oblig'd ' to make uſe of him for ſome time: And that ' the *Dutch* Ambaſſador in *London* aſſur'd the States, ' that the King of *England* was ſenſible, that his ' moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Exceptions to the Con-' duct of the *Spaniards*, were but a Pretence to avoid ' a Concluſion of the Peace; and therefore his *Bri-' tannick* Majeſty perſiſted in his Reſolution, to ' purſue all the Engagements he had enter'd into ' by the *Hague* Treaty: Which ſhew'd, that *Eng-' land* and *Holland* had reſolv'd, and agreed upon ' a Rupture againſt *France*.' However the Count *D'Eſtrades* might be miſtaken, as to the part Monſieur *De Wit* acted in this Affair, 'tis certain he was rightly inform'd as to the States fix'd Re-ſolution, effectually to aſſiſt the *Spaniards*, not only with Men, but likewiſe with Mony: For which purpoſe, on the 9th of *April* 1668. N. S. ſeven of their Deputies concluded and ſigned a Treaty with Don *Eſtevan de Gamarra*, whereby their High Mightineſſes engag'd themſelves to procure to the King of *Spain* a Loan of two Millions of Gilders, at Five *per Cent.* Intereſt, on the Security of the Towns, Caſtles, and Forts of *Argenteau*, *Navaigne*, *Stevenſwaert*, *Venlo*, *Guelder*, *Iſabella*, and *St. Donats*: Which were to be deliver'd into the hands of their High Mightineſſes ten days after the ſigning, in caſe the Treaty between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, upon the *Alternative* accepted by the Marquis *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*, ſhould break off. But by a ſeparate Article it was provided, 'That the ' States ſhould not be oblig'd to furniſh the Sums ' ſtipulated by this Treaty, until the ſaid Marquiſs ' had either ſigned the Agreement lately drawn up ' by the *French* King's Deputies, in concert with ' Mon-

'Monſieur *Van Beuningen* and Sir *John Trevor*; or 'ſend Powers to thoſe two Miniſters to perfect and 'conclude the ſaid Treaty in his name.'

To this purpoſe it muſt be obſerv'd, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters at *Paris* having, on the 28th of *March* N. S. in a Conference with the *French* Commiſſioners, Meſſieurs *Le Tellier*, *De Lionne*, and *Colbert*, inſiſted on a peremptory Declaration on the part of *France*, about the Truce, to the laſt Day of *May*; the *French* Miniſters bethought themſelves of a laſt Shift; and, the next Morning, return'd an Anſwer, * 'That the King could not 'explain himſelf as to that Demand, before he 'knew the King of *Great Britain*'s and the States-'General's Pretenſions as to the manner of their 'acting jointly (with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty) 'on the firſt day of *June*, both in relation to *War*, 'and the Conditions of *Peace*; which ought to be 'different from the two Alternatives already pro-'pos'd by *France*, if the *Spaniards* ſhould refuſe to 'conſent to the Peace within that time.' Sir *John Trevor* and Monſieur *Van Beuningen* replying, They had no Inſtruction on thoſe two Points, but if they knew his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Thoughts and Deſires thereupon, they would immediately diſpatch Expreſſes, to acquaint their reſpective Maſters therewith; the *French* Commiſſioners told them, 'That in caſe the Peace were not concluded, and 'the Ratifications exchang'd on the laſt Day of *May*, 'his (moſt Chriſtian) Majeſty intended to act then 'with all his Forces, as he ſhould think fit, with-'out having any *Neceſſity impos'd upon him*; which 'was the thing he was ſo much diſpleas'd with 'in the *Hague* Treaty; and that the *Engliſh* and '*Dutch* ſhould act with thirty Thouſand Men, or 'ſuch a number of Forces as ſhould be agreed on,

* *See Count* D'Eſtrades *Letters*, Vol. V. p. 310. & ſeq.

in

'in order to oblige *Spain* to make a Peace. That 'as to the Conditions of the ſaid Peace, his Ma- 'jeſty being no longer bound by the Terms of the 'two preſent *Alternatives*, he would however bind 'himſelf, by a Treaty with *England* and *Holland*, to 'two other *Alternatives*; provided the two Mari- 'time Powers ſhould, at the ſame time, be Guaran- 'tees to him for the Acceptation, within the Months 'of *June* and *July*, of one of theſe two Alterna- 'natives, *viz. That either to the Ceſſion of the Con- 'queſts made in the laſt Summer's Campaign*, Spain 'ſhould add and yield up the Franche-Compté, Cam- 'bray, *and the* Cambreſis; *or elſe, to the Ceſſion of 'the other Equivalent, add that of* Luxemburgh, *or 'Liſle and* Tournay *inſtead thereof.*' The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters, who were ſomewhat ſtartled at this new Overture, and whoſe main Buſineſs was to obtain the Prolongation of the Truce to the laſt day of *May*, made no great Objection to the two new *Alternatives*; and only inſiſted on a poſitive Declaration on the part of *France*, 'That in caſe 'the King of *England* and the States General ſhould 'guaranty the two new Alternatives for the 'Months of *June* and *July*, his moſt Chriſtian Ma- 'jeſty ſhould grant a Suſpenſion of Arms till the laſt 'day of *May*, and within that time be contented 'with either of the *Alternatives* formerly offer'd.' The *French* Commiſſioners declin'd making a di- rect Anſwer to this Demand, till the moſt Chriſtian King was acquainted with the King of *England*'s and the States-General's Intentions about the two new Alternatives; but, leſt the ſame ſhould be look'd upon as a mere Tergiverſation and Amuſement, the Marquiſs *De Ruvigny*, the *French* Ambaſſador then in *London*, and the Count *D'Eſtrades*, were directed to acquaint his *Britannick* Majeſty and the States, 'That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was wil- 'ling to grant the Truce till the laſt Day of *May*,

'tho it was not thought fit to declare the ſame 'to their Miniſters at *Paris*, leſt the King ſhould 'thereby run the Hazard of notably weakning his 'Troops, by the Opinion all Military Men might 'entertain, that the Peace was already made.' Whatever the *French* Court meant by this Management, in the ſame Conference of the 29th of *March* 1668, N. S. their Commiſſioners communicated to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters a Project, drawn up by Monſieur *De Lionne*, of a Treaty of Guaranty, for procuring a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, upon the Terms before-mention'd; that is, upon either of the two former *Alternatives*, within the laſt day of *May* incluſive; or upon either of the two new Alternatives, within the Months of *June* or *July*. Sir *John Trevor* and Monſieur *Van Beuningen* excepted only againſt ſome Expreſſions, which the *French* Commiſſioners conſented to alter: and the King of *England* having readily, and the States-General with ſome * difficulty, approv'd the ſaid Project, the Treaty was ſigned at *St. Germain en Leye*, on the 15th of *April* 1668. N. S. by the abovenam'd three *French* Commiſſioners on the one part, and Monſieur *Van Beuningen* and Sir *John Trevor* on the other. Tho the Courſe of *Publick Affairs ſeem'd to change, in others Eyes, yet it appear'd to Sir* William Temple †

* *Monſieur* De Lionne *ſo highly reſented the Diffidence of the* Dutch, *in relation to this laſt Overture of* France, *that in a Letter to the Count* D'Eſtrades, *dated* April 13. 1668. N. S. *he has theſe very words:* Il ſe voit par là que ſi ſa Majeſté ſignoit l'EVANGILE, on ne le recevra pas de-delà de bonne grace: *that is*, This ſhews that if his Majeſty ſigned the GOSPEL, it would be aukwardly receiv'd in thoſe Parts. *See Count* D'Eſtrades *Letters*, Vol. V. p. 337. *This Paſſage ſhews at leaſt, what Opinion (even in Monſieur* De Lionne's *Judgment) the World then entertain'd of* French *Sincerity and* Bonâ Fide.

† *See his Letters*, Vol. I. p. 346.

conſtant

conſtant in the French *Deſign of a War; which he thought nothing could alter, but the viſible Marks of Force and Steddineſs in their Neighbours to oppoſe them.* And indeed it was the Opinion of many, that the *French* concluded this laſt Treaty upon a double View, either of the *Spaniards* not agreeing to the Conditions contain'd in it, or of the Peace not being ſign'd, and the Ratifications exchang'd within the time of the Truce; or, if the latter ſhould happen, contrary to their Expectation, they thought it, however, more adviſeable to truſt to future Negotiations and Intrigues, to break the Deſign of the *Triple Alliance*, than, by a manifeſt Breach of their Promiſes, to exaſperate not only *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*, but alſo all the Princes of *Germany*; and oblige them to take up Arms, for the Preſervation of the reſt of the *Netherlands*. On the other hand, the States-General, who at firſt receiv'd the Project with coldneſs, and demanded a Prolongation of the Truce till the 15th of *June*, were, at laſt, willing to ſign the Treaty of Guaranty; both in order to bind the *French* to the Performance of their former Offers, and to ſtop the Mouth of Count *D'Eſtrades*, who loudly expoſtulated with them, for ſigning the Treaty for procuring a Loan of two Millions of *Gilders* to the *Spaniards*. But 'tis obſervable, that from this time the *French* Court began to doubt Monſieur *De Wit*'s Devotion to their Intereſt; and reſolv'd, one time or other, to chaſtiſe the *Dutch* for preſuming, to thwart the Deſigns of their Grand Monarch, by the *Triple Alliance*.

The Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo* ſo highly reſented the violent Inſtances made by the *Dutch* Deputies at *Bruſſels*, for ſigning Monſieur *De Lionne*'s Project without altering a Word, or ſo much as giving him any Aſſurance of aſſiſting him, in caſe *France* ſhould draw back; that he did not ſtick to ſay

to Sir *William Temple*, 'That if he were, at this Juncture, in the Council of *Spain*, he would give his Advice, without further Difficulty, for making Peace with *France*, by delivering up all *Flanders* to them, rather than ſuffer ſuch a Treatment from all their Neighbours, who were more intereſted in the loſs of it, than the *Spaniards*.' And, indeed, it could not enter into the Marquiſs's head, why the Allies ſhould give *France* more Aſſurances than they deſir'd, in caſe of *Spain*'s refuſing the *Alternative*, and even contrary to the Treaty at the *Hague*; and yet refuſe *Spain* the bare Aſſurances of the Clauſes in the ſaid Treaty, in caſe of *France*'s refuſal, after having driven *Spain* to all the Allies could ask. Neither could he imagine, why *England* and *Holland* preſs'd him ſo much to ſign a Project, Word for Word, from Monſieur *De Lionne*, without firſt uſing their Endeavours at *Paris*, towards ſome reaſonable Exchange of the Towns in the heart of the Country, as Sir *William Temple* and the *Dutch* Deputies had promis'd him. He likewiſe wonder'd, that the Allies did not interpoſe to hinder the demoliſhing of the Places in *Franche-Compté*: So that by this Project, he clearly ſaw, he muſt be confin'd within *Bruſſels*, ſhut up by *French* Gariſons, within ſeven Leagues of him on one ſide, and eight on the other: that *Burgundy* might be invaded as an open Country, without the poſſibility of defending it one day; and that *France* would only wait till *England* and *Holland* were ingag'd in a Quarrel with their Neighbours, or till ſome Miſunderſtanding happen'd between the two Nations, to finiſh the Conqueſt of the *Netherlands*; which they might do in fifteen days. Sir *William Temple* pacify'd the Marquiſs, by repreſenting to him what Proviſion had been made for the Preſervation of the Remainder of *Flanders*: Upon which he told Sir *William*, that in caſe they would give him

him Aſſurances to follow the third ſeparate Article of that Treaty, he was ready either to ſign himſelf, or to give Powers to ſign even Monſieur *De Lionne*'s Project immediately, as the Foundation of the Treaty; and would rely upon the good Offices of the King of *England* and the States, to negotiate either ſome convenient Exchange for *Burgundy*, or to have it reſtor'd in the Condition it was taken; or elſe find means to repair the Towns demoliſh'd. Sir *William Temple* gave the Marquiſs the Aſſurances he deſir'd, on the part of *England*; and acquainted Monſieur *De Wit* with what paſs'd at *Bruſſels*; telling him withal, that in his Opinion, *they muſt endeavour to finiſh what remain'd to be done, all together at* Aix, *or at* Paris. Monſieur *De Wit* was of the ſame Opinion, as appears by the following Anſwer.

SIR,

YOU ought to be well ſatisfy'd with your whole Conduct, ſince the Succeſs ſo well anſwers your good Intentions; and that your Work has ſo excellent an Agreement with the Foundation you had laid. All Chriſtendom *muſt allow you the Glory, of having firſt diſpos'd the King of* Great Britain*'s Mind to ſo ſtrict an Alliance between his Majeſty and this State, for the univerſal Good and Peace of* Europe. *It is upon this Principle, you have continu'd to labour with ſo much Application and Succeſs, with the Marquiſs* De Caſtel-Rodrigo, *that it is chiefly to you we are oblig'd for the good Diſpoſition he is in at preſent; and for the Enjoyment of ſo great an Advantage to* Chriſtendom, *as reſults from it. I ſpeak of it as a thing we poſſeſs already, becauſe I ſee nothing can hinder us from it; it being likely that the Baron* De Bergeyck *has already executed the Power we have ſent him; and that the Court of* Madrid, *in order to deliver* Flanders *from its troubleſome Gueſts, will no longer defer to ratify the Treaty. For the reſt, I agree entirely with your Sentiments;*

and

and am of Opinion, ſome exchange of Places ſhould be negotiated, immediately after the ſigning of the Treaty. I alſo agree with you, that this Negotiation will be more conveniently manag'd afterwards at Paris, *than any where elſe; at leaſt, if the Marquiſs* De Caſtel-Rodrigo *can reſolve to have Confidence enough in the King of* Great Britain's *Miniſters, and thoſe of the States, for the Management of an Affair of this Nature: Tho, if he conſider'd well, he will find that we both have the ſame Intereſt in it. You have nothing now to do, but to go on your own way, upon the Foundation of the Agreement of* January *the* 23*d, to ſupport the Peace made, by a* GUARANTY *of all who are intereſted in it, either in general, or in particular; never fearing, that thoſe who ſhall negotiate jointly with you, in the name of this State, will diſorder the Harmony that has appear'd in the whole Courſe of this Negotiation: What they do, being as well from their own Inclination, as in purſuance of their Orders.*

Three days before the date of this Letter, that is, on the 24th of *April*, N. S. Sir *William Temple* ſet out from *Bruſſels* for *Aix-la-Chapelle*, with nine and twenty Perſons in his Company, of which, Ten in his own Livery. Beſides thoſe who belong'd to him, the Earl of *Stafford*, Captain *Burridge* and Captain *Weſely* accompany'd him in his Journey; and twenty of the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s Guard attended him, till he came the ſecond Night into the Territories of *Liege*. The firſt Night at *Louvain* paſs'd without any Ceremony, Sir *William* not taking upon him any new Character in the *Spaniſh* Dominions: but the ſecond Night he was receiv'd as the King of *Great Britain*'s Ambaſſador, and lodg'd at *Herkinraedt*, a rich Abbey of *Bernardine-Nuns*. The next Morning the Magiſtrates of *Haſſel* ſent to know, whether his Excellency paſs'd by their Town in his way to *Maeſtricht*, that they

they might pay him the Honour due to his Character: But he desiring to avoid these Ceremonies, chose to pass a private way, about a Mile from the Town. However, he found all the Road over-against the Place crowded with People, and among them the Magistrates, who entertain'd him with a Speech, a Banquet, great store of Wine, and all the great Guns of the Town at the same time. The same Night he arriv'd at *Maestricht*, where he was receiv'd by a Discharge of all the Artillery, the Garison rang'd through the Streets as he pass'd, and at the end of them a Volley of their Small Shot. At his Inn he was immediately visited by the *Rhinegrave*, Governor of the Place, and after him by the Magistrates of the Town. The next Morning he return'd a Visit to the *Rhinegrave*, who accompany'd him back to his Inn. At his departure all the great Guns of the Town were discharg'd thrice round, with greater Volleys of Shot than the Night before; and the *Rhinegrave* met him in his Coach about half a Mile out of Town, to perform his last Compliment, having told the Lord *Stafford*, that he had express Orders from the States, to do all the Honour that was possible, both to his Character and his Person. From *Maestricht* he sent a Letter to the Baron *De Freisheim* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to give him notice of his intended Arrival on *Friday* the 27th of *April*, N. S. but withal, to desire him to keep it private, that so he might enter with little Noise or Ceremony, in regard he came upon a sudden Journey, and a very short Stay; and therefore with the Retinue of the King's Resident at *Brussels*, rather than of his Ambassador. The Baron did his part in suppressing the Knowledg of it. But the Town having notice, by Orders they had given at *Maestricht*, sent one to meet his Excellency in the midway with a Compliment, and desire, that they might receive him as they had done

done other Ambaſſadors. Sir *William* left it to them to do as they pleas'd; and the rather, becauſe he heard that Monſieur *Colbert*, the *French* Ambaſſador, had made a ſolemn Entry ſix Days before, with very great Train and Ceremony; and he thought by this more private Entry, to avoid the Expectation of any other: ſo he was receiv'd in the Town with all the Guns, and the Burghers in Arms, and complimented immediately at his Arrival, both from the Magiſtrates of the Town, and a Commander of the Duke of *Newburgh*'s, to aſſure him, that the Duke had given him Orders for two thouſand Horſe to attend him upon the Confines, and to accompany him into the Town, as he had done the *French* Ambaſſador at his ſolemn Entry; and that the Baron *De Frieſheim*'s Aſſurance of his Excellency's deſiring to enter privately, had only prevented that Attendance. The ſame Night, about ten a Clock, Sir *William* went *incognito* to Monſieur *De Beverning*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador's Houſe; reſolving to tell him, that upon his Arrival he intended to live after another manner with him, than with any of the other Ambaſſadors; as well in reſpect of the new Alliance between their Maſters, as of their *Mediation*. The *Dutch* Ambaſſador happen'd to be in Bed; but having heard of Sir *William Temple*'s Intention, viſited him early the next Morning, without Train or Ceremony; and gave him full Information of all that had paſs'd at *Aix*; by which it appear'd, that nothing in the Peace could be done till the arrival of his *Britannick* Majeſty's Ambaſſador. Sir *William* was that Morning taken ill of a Fever, which delay'd his ſending to give the ſeveral publick Miniſters advice of his arrival till about Ten a Clock: and then he was prevented by Compliments, firſt from the *French*, and then from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, which were return'd that Morning; and ſucceeded

in

in the Afternoon by Viſits from them, both in the ſame Order. *The Deſpight*, ſaid* Sir *William* (in a Letter he wrote that Day to my Lord *Arlington*) *of ſeeing the Baron* De Bergeyck *yet refuſe to ſign the Project of the Treaty, without another Diſpatch from the* Marquiſs, *after that I brought him, is enough to loſe all Patience: My ill Humour, I confeſs, is not leſſen'd, by ſeeing my ſelf here with equal Character to other Miniſters, and without poſſibility, in this Place, of putting my ſelf in an Equipage ſuitable to them; which I did not think poſſible neither to provide my ſelf before my Journey, conſidering the uncertainty of it, almoſt to the very laſt, and the Aſſurance I came with from the Marquiſs, of the Treaty's being ſign'd the firſt moment; ſo that I thought three Days would end our Buſineſs.* The ſame Evening Sir *William* wrote to the Marquiſs; gave him an Account of the Viſits he had receiv'd from the Baron *De Bergeyck*, Monſieur *Colbert*, and Monſieur *Beverning*; and told him, *No other ſteps could, in this Juncture, be made for ſaving the* Netherlands, *but by immediately ſigning the Project ſent to the Baron* De Bergeyck: *That the* French *Ambaſſador declar'd he was ready to ſign that very Evening, and to anſwer any Exceptions the Baron could make upon the Project: But that* Spain *muſt impute to it ſelf, whatever might happen by this loſs of time.* That *he* (Sir *William*) *ſaw plainly, Monſieur* Colbert *was ready to ſecond and aſſiſt the Baron* De Bergeyck *in any Delays that might be given to the Affair; and foreſeeing that it muſt at length paſs in the Words of the Project, ſince* England *and* Holland *were already engag'd about it at* Paris; *he* (*Mr.* Colbert) *hop'd either to ſee the Treaty break, or have the Honour to make* Spain *yield, at laſt, upon all Difficulties they firſt rais'd.* Therefore Sir *William deſir'd the* Marquiſs, *in the Name of all thoſe who wiſh'd well to the*

* *See his Letters*, Vol. I. p. 354.

Affairs of Spain *and* Chriſtendom, *to diſpatch an expreſs Command to the Baron to ſign without further Trifling; and to ſend him Inſtructions for any thing the* Marquiſs *ſhould find convenient to have negotiated afterwards; in which he* (*Sir* William) *ſhould have Monſieur* Reverning's *Aſſiſtance, but not at all till the Project was ſigned.*

Sir *William Temple*, upon his firſt Interview with the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, enquir'd of him what Intercourſe had paſs'd between him and Cardinal *Roſpiglioſi*, the Pope's *Nuncio*, who bore the Publick Character of *Mediator*; tho the ſame reſided, in effect, in the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters: and finding that after ſome Offices by third Perſons between them, it had ſtop'd upon ſome Difficulties, without coming to any Viſits or formal Compliments; Sir *William* deſir'd the Lord *Stafford*, when he made a Viſit of himſelf to the *Nuncio*, to let him know, in common Converſation, 'That Sir *William* finding by what had paſs'd between him and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, that the ſame Difficulties were like to befal him, had omitted to give him any notice of his Arrival: but to tell him, at the ſame time, that he was very much a Servant to the Merits of the Cardinal *Padrone*, upon his Acquaintance with him at *Bruſſels*; and was very glad to hear of the continuance of his Health ſince his laſt Recovery.' And ſo that matter ended; Sir *William*, who had no Directions in that Point, deſiring as civilly as he could, to take this occaſion of avoiding further Commerce with the Pope's Nephew and Publick Miniſter.

Sir *William Temple* kept his Bed for ſome Days, notwithſtanding which he ſtill apply'd himſelf to Buſineſs; and, on the laſt Day of *April*, wrote to the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*, as follows:

MY

MY LORD,

I *Find my Health very much impair'd, and God keep me from thoſe Accidents which the Deſpight I have upon the preſent Poſture of Affairs, may add to my Indiſpoſition. All I have to ſay is, that the Ambaſſador of* France *has Orders not to change a Word in the Project, as prepar'd by our Miniſters at* Paris. *The* Dutch *Ambaſſador has the ſame Orders from his Maſters: The* Nuncio *preſſes alſo the ſigning without any Alteration; and all the* German *Miniſters are of the ſame Opinion. The Baron refuſes to ſign without another Order from* Bruſſels: *Upon which the* French *Ambaſſador preſſes both me and Monſieur* Beverning, *to give him an Act, teſtifying, that he has been ready to ſign, ever ſince the arrival of the Project. The* Dutch *Ambaſſador proteſts he cannot refuſe it; and beſides, that if the Baron will not ſign to morrow, he will depart, and return to* Holland. *The moſt Chriſtian King has ſent all his Officers into the Field, and intends to follow them in Perſon; ſo that our Miniſters at* Paris *apprehend ſome new Accidents, unleſs they are prevented by ſigning the Treaty. As for my ſelf, I have Inſtructions to uſe all means for forwarding the Peace, in concert with the* Dutch *Ambaſſador; and can by no means depart from his Reſolution. I bear, as patiently as I can, the Mortification, to ſee that I muſt paſs for a Perſon whom your Excellency has impos'd on, by giving me an Order which your Miniſter was not to obey; but I cannot, without the utmoſt uneaſineſs, ſee that the Affairs of all* Chriſtendom *muſt be abſolutely ruin'd, by a Caprice of the Baron* De Bergeyck: *For I will not, as others do, impute to your Excellency ſuch a* Feinte, *as that of drawing from us all Aſſurances you demanded, upon your Promiſe of immediately ſigning the Treaty; and then of giving me a ſort of Order to the Baron, contradicted before by a Counter-Order in ſecret. —— I ſhould not have left* Bruſſels, *had not*

your Excellncy aſſur'd me, that the Baron ſhould ſign without delay, whenever I judg'd it neceſſary: I now find it ſo; and have told him it is ſo very neceſſary, that I believe France *would not have carried greater Advantages, nor triumph'd more upon the winning of a Battel, than in the Advances they have made in this Affair. For my ſelf, I never in my Life had a greater Mortification than what I have undergone on this occaſion.*

Upon theſe preſſing Inſtances and Expoſtulations, the Marquiſs ſent Orders to the Baron *De Bergeyck* to ſign the Treaty; which he did accordingly on the 2d of *May*: the two Inſtruments of which were immediately deliver'd into the Hands of Sir *William Temple*, *viz.* one ſigned in his Preſence, the other in the *Dutch* Ambaſſador's; which Sir *William* was glad to obtain, ſo to ſurmount the Difficulties rais'd upon delivering the Inſtruments to the *Nuncio*. By this Peace the *French* were to keep poſſeſſion, in full Sovereignty, of the Towns, Places, and Forts they had taken during the laſt Campaign, *viz. Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Douay*, *Fort-de-Scarpe*, *Tournay*, *Audenarde*, *Lille*, *Armentiers*, *Courtray*, *Bergues* and *Furnes*, with their Dependencies; on condition, that *France* ſhould reſtore to *Spain* the *Franche-Comté*, and all other Places which the Arms of *France* might have ſeiz'd on, to the Day of the proclaiming of the Peace, after the exchanging of the Ratifications: Which was to be done by the laſt Day of that Month incluſively; and that all Kings, Princes, and Potentates might give to their moſt Chriſtian and Catholick Majeſtys, their Promiſes and Aſſurances of Guaranty. After the ſigning, two whole Days were ſpent in removing ſome Difficulties ſtarted, about the inſerting the Powers of the Baron *De Bergeyck*, who on the 5th of *May* return'd to *Bruſſels* in diſcontent; and complaining of the Violence and Injuſtice, by which the *Spaniards*

niards were compell'd to this Peace, Sir *William Temple* had three ſeveral Letters of the Marquiſs's while he was at *Aix*, upon that Subject. But Sir *William* frankly told him, and the Earl of *Arlington* * his Opinion, 'That ſince Don *Juan* was 'neither arriv'd with Supplies, nor hardly expected 'in any time; ſince *Holland* was ſo deſperately 'bent upon the Peace, without any regard to the 'Spaniſh Honour or Intereſt, further than they join'd 'immediately with their own; ſince the Emperor 'appear'd wholly unconcern'd in the matter; ſince 'Spain had not been able to find means to engage 'England or Sweden in their Quarrel, by Supplies 'neceſſary to both Crowns; ſince his *Britannick* 'Majeſty was not in any Condition of entring 'into the Buſineſs ſingle, upon Conſiderations of 'Honour, Juſtice, or a remote Danger: And conſequently, ſince upon the Projects made at *Paris*, 'it grew evident to *Spain*, that they muſt ſign 'the firſt Project of Peace drawn up by Monſieur *De Lionne*, or a worſe: Upon all theſe 'Conſiderations, it was Sir *William Temple*'s Opinion, that 'twas the Intereſt of the *Spaniards* 'frankly to end the Affair, immediately upon his 'Arrival at *Aix*, and gain the moſt time poſſible 'to get the Ratifications from *Madrid*, before the 'laſt day of *May*; and thereby take away from 'France all Hopes, or Pretences of breaking, (to 'which they were ſtrongly tempted by the *Spaniards* 'neglect of Preparations) without ſuch an Evidence 'of Perfidiouſneſs and Ambition, as would of neceſſity engage *Holland* in the Defence of the *Spaniards*. And upon the ſame Conſiderations Sir 'William urg'd the Baron *De Bergeyck* to finiſh the 'Affair.' In a Letter to the Earl of *Arlington* about this Tranſaction, Sir *William* added, 'That he

* *See* Sir W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 374, 383.

'had

'had been the more earneſt in bringing it to an 'Iſſue, becauſe he conceiv'd by all he had from his 'Lordſhip, as well as from other hands, not only 'that they deſir'd it in *Holland*, but that the Peace 'was neceſſary for the Conſtitution of his Majeſty's 'preſent Affairs. *And ſince*, ſaid Sir *William*, *he 'has had the Glory of making two Peaces ſo important; 'we have now nothing to wiſh, but to ſee him in a 'Condition to make War as well as Peace, whenever 'the Honour and Intereſt of his Crowns ſhall make it 'neceſſary: For that Neceſſity can, I ſuppoſe, be no 'ways long avoided, but by our being in a Poſture 'to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make Ad- 'vantage of it. And I think the beſt time to fall in- 'to Counſels tending to this great End, will be after 'the Concluſion of this general Peace, when no Engage- 'ment abroad forces his Majeſty to have ſo much 'need of Mony from his People. For, the time to 'repair the Harms that Storms have done a Houſe, is 'in fair Weather; and to mend a leaky Ship, ſhe muſt 'be brought aſhore. —— God grant we may take Warn- 'ing by the poor* Spaniards *Example, whoſe ill Con- 'duct of late in the Government, has ſo far ſubjected 'them to their Neighbours Diſeſteem, Inſolence and 'Humour, as well as their Conqueſts, Violence, and Op- 'preſſion; which, I confeſs, have been enough to put them 'upon ſuch deſperate Counſels, as your Lordſhip men- 'tions, of giving up all to the* French *in the* Nether- 'lands, *rather than be the bare Guardians of others 'Frontiers. And yet all theſe Misfortunes are the na- 'tural Conſequences of their Conduct, and will never 'fail befalling any Prince, that follows their Example. 'I wiſh that might befal the* French, *to temper a lit- 'tle ſuch an OVER-GROWN GREATNESS; 'but I doubt it much from the PRESENT KING's 'Diſpoſitions, among whoſe Qualities thoſe of* Care- 'leſneſs *and* Laviſhing his Treaſures, *I am afraid, 'are none. Therefore I wiſh him employ'd in ſome*

'very

'*very charming Pleaſures, or elſe in ſome more dif-*
'*ficult Enterprizes than his laſt, and where we may*
'*not have ſo great a ſhare.*

Sir *William Temple* having brought the Negotiation at *Aix* to a happy Concluſion, ſet out from thence on the 9th of *May* N. S. for *Bruſſels*, in order to purſue the Directions he had receiv'd from the Earl of *Arlington*, about the Subſidies promis'd by *England* and *Holland*, on the part of *Spain*, to the Crown of *Sweden*, in order to engage the latter in the *Triple-Alliance*. Upon the Confidence of theſe Promiſes, Count *Dhona*, as was hinted before, went to *England*; where, upon the Exchange of the Treaty of the *Triple-Alliance*, the *Engliſh* Miniſters, and *Dutch* Ambaſſador then in *London*, gave him an Act; wherein, in concert with Count *Molina*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, they undertook to get thoſe Promiſes made good by the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, within ſix Weeks time, when the Ratifications were expected from *Stockholm*. But when Sir *William Temple*, jointly with the *Dutch* Deputy at *Bruſſels*, demanded of the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo* the Performance of that Engagement, he alledg'd, 'That his Promiſe of 'ſending Powers to Count *Molina* was in time of 'War, and with Intention of engaging *Sweden* in 'it, as well as *England* and *Holland*, in the De-'fence of the *Low-Countries*: That the Peace had 'alter'd thoſe Meaſures; and, tho he had Powers 'to grant what he thought fit in the time of War, 'whoſe Accidents admitted not recourſe to *Spain*, 'yet he had not the ſame in time of Peace, but 'had written effectually upon this Subject: That 'in the mean while, he expected to know the 'Effect of the *Triple Alliance*, and ſee the Form of 'GUARANTY it ſhould produce, with what 'Concert, and with what Advantages for the *Spa-*'*niſh-Netherlands*; of which he had yet receiv'd no

'par-

'particular Account from the Count *De Molina*. 'That he did not underſtand, why *Spain* ſhould 'bear the Expence of thoſe Months which the 'Swedes had kept up their Troops, only at the 'deſire of *Holland*, and without any regard to the 'Spaniſh Provinces, which was from the Concluſion 'at *Breda*, to that of the League of the *Hague*, 'wherein Count *Dhona* enter'd; and which ſeem'd 'the firſt Inſtance of the *Swedes* concerning them-'ſelves in the Affairs of *Spain*.' The *Dutch* Deputy preſs'd the Marquiſs hard upon his Promiſe, and former Declaration to Sir *William* and himſelf, that he had ſent his Powers to Count *Molina*: ſo that the Debate growing warm, Sir *William* was fain to divert it, upon his Expectation of new Powers and particular Inſtructions; *by which*, he ſaid, *he hop'd to be able to give the Marquiſs ſatisfaction in the Project of the intended Guaranty*. The ſame * Afternoon, upon the Arrival of Sir *John Trevor*'s Secretary, Sir *William Temple* agreed with the Marquiſs, that the Exchange of the Ratification of the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, ſhould be made the 26th at *Paris*, by the hands of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters; and that the Peace ſhould be publiſh'd the 28th, in caſe they receiv'd a Courier, with Advice of the *French* Concurrence in that Day. As for the manner of executing the Treaty, it was Sir *William*'s Opinion, nothing ſhould be mention'd of it till the Exchange and Publication were over; ſince new Difficulties might ariſe upon it, which would be eaſieſt overcome afterwards; and perhaps the Parties would have begun to diſarm. The Marquiſs was of his Opinion, and only propos'd, that after the publication, Commiſſioners might be appointed on both Sides, and by the Mediators, for the better compoſing, and final Determination

* May 22. N. S.

of

of any Difference that might ariſe between the Parties. The Marquiſs took this Occaſion to thank Sir *William Temple* for ſparing him that Morning, in the Diſpute he was fallen into with the *Dutch* Deputy: Adding, 'That in ſhort, the *Dutch* had 'croſs'd him in an Alliance he was making the 'Year before with *Sweden*, becauſe they would 'make themſelves maſters of the Affair; and now 'would buy the *Swedes* Dependence at the Coſt 'of *Spain*. That he had all the reaſon to be ſa-'tisfy'd with his Majeſty's Conduct in this Affair, 'but little in the *Dutch*: That he knew no reaſon 'why the *Spaniards* ſhould not pay what they had 'promis'd to *Sweden*, after the Treaty at *Breda*; 'nor why all the Mony *Spain* could ſpare, ſhould 'not be given to the King of *England*, (upon a 'nearer League between them) who was the only 'Prince had proceeded affectionately and gene-'rouſly in the *Spaniſh* Affairs; and who was the 'beſt able to ſupport them, in caſe he were in a 'Condition to make War, without his People's 'Purſes. That he expected the Baron *D'Iſola* ſud-'denly at *Bruſſels* for the Concluſion of the Gua-'ranty, and this Affair with *Sweden*: And that, at 'laſt, if this Mony muſt be paid by *Spain*, it ſhould 'be all laid in his *Britannick* Majeſty's hands, to 'diſpoſe of as he pleas'd.' Sir *William* return'd the Marquiſs Thanks for Expreſſions ſo obliging, in what concern'd the part *England* had acted in this whole Affair; but *deſir'd him to take it for a Ground in all the Superſtructures to be made upon the preſent Foundations, that* SPAIN MUST NOT DISOBLIGE HOLLAND, EVEN TO OBLIGE ENGLAND; *but diſſemble any Reſentments they had given him, and ſacrifice them to the Advantage both* England *and* Spain *receiv'd by their ſeparation from* France. A ſolid Maxim, which ought to be a ſtanding Rule for all ſound and honeſt Stateſmen:

But the Reverſe of which has, too often, unhappily been practis'd by ambitious and profligate Miniſters; who have ſacrific'd the true Intereſt of their Country, and of their Allies, either to their private Reſentments, or Luſt of Honours and Riches.

As for Sir *William Temple*, after the Concluſion of the *Triple Alliance*, and the Peace of *Aix*, he was at the end of his Ambition; having ſeen *Flanders* ſav'd, as if it had been one of thoſe Miracles the Houſe of *Auſtria* had formerly been us'd to; the general Intereſts of *Chriſtendom* ſecur'd againſt the Power and Incroachments of *France*; and at the ſame time the Honour and Conſideration of the *Britiſh* Crown and Nation abroad, rais'd to a degree it had not been in for ſome Ages; and which there was little reaſon to expect it ſhould be in ſome Ages to come, after the Diſgrace at *Chatham*, and the Peace of *Breda* that ſucceeded it. He therefore return'd from *Aix* to *Bruſſels*, without other Thoughts than to remain there in his former Station of Reſident; but upon his Arrival there, he met with Letters from the Earl of *Arlington*, that brought him the King's Orders to continue in the Equipage of an Ambaſſador, in order to ſerve his Majeſty in the ſame Quality in *Holland*: Where, upon occaſion of the late Alliances, his Majeſty was reſolv'd to renew a Character which the Crown of *England* had diſcontinu'd in that Country, ſince King *James*'s time. In order hereto, Sir *William* was left at liberty to take his Leave of the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo*, and to return into *England* as ſoon as he pleas'd: which he did by the way of *Holland*, and left moſt of his Domeſticks and Equipage at *Utrecht*.

Upon his arrival at *London* *, he was receiv'd with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Favour and Re-

* *See his Letter to his Father*, Vol. I. p. 402, & ſeq. *dated* July 22. 1668.

ſpect

ſpect, both by the King and Court; People ſeeming generally pleas'd with the late Counſels and Negotiations, in which he had ſo great a ſhare: And if he had been as forward to preſs his Fortune, as he was to deſerve it, (and he was put enough in mind of it on this Occaſion, both by his old Friends, and ſuch as pretended to be ſo at this time of day) he would not have loſt the Advantage of coming home with the common Opinion of great Merits. But he had ſo modeſt an Opinion of himſelf, that he could not imagine, why he ſhould pretend to more than his Pay of the King, whilſt he ſerv'd him; and if he got Honour by them, 'twas, he thought, ſo much more than he reckon'd upon. Beſides, he ſhould have been ſhy to ask Mony of him at a time, when, by the Cry of the Court, his Majeſty wanted it more than himſelf. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador and Baron *D'Iſola*, as well as others of his Friends, would needs have ask'd a Title for him; and 'twas with Difficulty enough that he prevented it: But 'twas what he never coveted; and he was reſolv'd, that if ever it ſhould be offer'd him, it ſhould either begin with his Father, or his Son. He was very much preſs'd to diſpatch his Preparations for his new Embaſſy by the Lord-Keeper *Bridgman* and the Earl of *Arlington*, who were extreme kind to him, and ſeem'd to value themſelves very much upon the Meaſures lately taken by their Miniſtry. They told him, 'All the Buſineſs the 'King now had, both at home and abroad, would 'now turn upon his (Sir *William*'s) hand in *Holland*, 'by keeping the *French* from breaking in upon 'the late Alliances, and the Confidence between 'both Nations; and by drawing the EMPEROR 'and Princes of the EMPIRE into a common 'GUARANTY of the Peace:' and thereupon they were very earneſt with him to haſten his Departure. On the other hand, ſome of the Commiſ-

Subsidys are some Allowances for Expences, in raising or paying off some Troops, which is done for the sake of the new Alliance, in Lho.

to come into the triple alliance. K Charles had this sort of subsidy once, from France near forty years ago.

sioners of the Treasury (particularly Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Comptroller of the Houshold, and one of the Lords of the Treasury) first try'd to hinder the King's Resolution, of sending either an Ambassador into *Holland*, (on pretence of so long disuse of that Character) or Sir *William Temple* in particular: And when that could not be carried, they enter'd upon new Regulations in the *Exchequer*; among which, those concerning foreign Employments, brought down the Equipage-Mony of Ambassadors from Three Thousand Pounds, as it had been ever since the King came in, to Fifteen Hundred in *France* and *Spain*, and to one Thousand Pounds in all other Courts; and their Allowance, from One Hundred Pounds a Week, to Ten Pounds a Day in *France* and *Spain*, and to Seven in other Places. Tho this was pretended by the Commissioners as only a general Scheme of Parsimony, they found necessary in the present Condition of the Revenue; yet Sir *William* understood it as calculated just at this time, particularly for himself. The Earl of *Arlington* was of the same Opinion, and seem'd to take part in it, as a piece of Envy or Malice to himself, as well as to Sir *William Temple*, from some who were spighted at all that had lately past between *England* and *Holland*, and at the Persons who had been at the head of those Counsels. As for Sir *William*, he resented it not only as a thing he had not deserv'd, upon an Employment cast wholly upon him by the King's Choice, and, as he seem'd to think, by the Necessity of his Affairs; but as that which he found plainly, by the short Experience of his last Embassy, would not defray the Expence of another, with any Honour to the King, or himself abroad. And tho he did not pretend to make his Fortune by these Employments, yet he was not so imprudent as to ruin it neither. He therefore once resolv'd absolutely

to

to refuſe this Embaſſy, unleſs it were upon the Terms others had before; but the Lord *Arlington* put ſo much Weight upon his going, that he would not hear of his declining it. He argu'd, 'Twas 'what their Enemies would have, and intended by 'this Uſage; that he could no ways diſappoint them 'ſo much as by going; and that this Rule in the 'Exchequer would be broken in three Months 'time. That he ſhould not conſider ſmall mat-'ters of Mony in the Courſe of Fortune, and that 'the King could not fail of making his at a Lump, 'one time or other: That there was nothing he 'might not expect from his Majeſty, upon his re-'turn from this Embaſſy: and that if his Maje-'ſty had not thought him (Sir *William*) of abſo-'lute Neceſſity to him in *Holland*, upon this Con-'juncture, he had brought him now into Secretary '*Morris*'s Place; which, upon Sir *William Temple*'s 'going abroad, was deſign'd for Sir *John Trevor*.' The Lord-Keeper was of the ſame Opinion, to have Sir *William* by no means refuſe it; and ſome other of his Friends agreed with them both; concluding, that after a Year or Two of this Embaſſy, he could not fail of being either Secretary of State, or ſent Ambaſſador into *Spain*; which were certain ways of making any Man's Fortune. With all this, Sir *William* was not eaſy to reſolve; and thereupon he wrote to his Father, Sir *John Temple*, then in *Ireland*, earneſtly deſiring his Advice upon it: And that he might the better give it, Sir *William* acquainted him with one Circumſtance that weigh'd a little with him, tho not at all with his Friends in *London*. Theſe were all of Opinion, the Meaſures the King had lately taken could not be broken nor alter'd, however they might be ſnarl'd at by ſome Perſons in the *French* and *Popiſh* Intereſt: But Sir *William* ſaw plainly, there were others of another Mind. Sir *Thomas Clifford* did not

ſtick

ſtick to ſay, in Confidence to a Friend of *Sir William*'s, upon the publick Joy occaſion'd by the *Triple Alliance*: *Well, for all this Noiſe, we muſt yet have another War with the* Dutch *before it be long.* And Sir *William* found, that he and Sir *George Downing* were endeavouring, with all poſſible Induſtry, to engage the *Eaſt-India* Company in *London*, in ſuch Debates and Pretenſions upon the *Dutch*, as would never be yielded to on that ſide; and would increaſe a Jealouſy the *Hollanders* would ever have, of the unſteddy Counſels of *England*, and the latter's leaving ſuch a Door open for ſome new Offences, when they ſhould have a mind to take them. On the other hand, with admirable Penetration, he foreſaw, 'That the *French* would leave no Stone 'unturn'd to break this Confidence between *England* 'and *Holland*, which ſpoil'd all their Meaſures and 'Deſigns, and without which they had the World 'before them: That if they could, they would 'undermine it in *Holland*, by Jealouſies of the 'Prince of *Orange*, or any other Artifice; and 'would ſpare neither Promiſes nor Threats: That 'if he ſhould be able to keep that ſide ſtaunch, 'they would ſpare none of the ſame Endeavours 'in *England*, and would have ſome good Helps he 'ſaw already, or might have others that did not 'yet appear: That if by any of theſe ways, or 'other Accidents, the preſent Meaſures came to 'change, he was loſt in *Holland* to a certain loſs, 'upon the Terms they would ſend him, tho he 'ſhould be paid; but to a certain ruin, if he 'ſhould not; which he might well expect from the 'Affections of ſome in the Treaſury: and when 'his Embaſſy ſhould be at an end, he might find 'a new World in *England*, and all the fine things 'he was now told of, might prove Caſtles in the 'Air.' On the other ſide, Sir *William Temple* knew, there was a great deal to be ſaid for his going;

Sr Thomas Clifford ſaid for all this triple Alliance but we muſt have another war with the Dutch this makes plain what D. Wilſon

but then he knew also, he was well as he was, and could not be ruin'd but by such an Adventure as this. While, in this uncertainty, Sir *William Temple* expected his Father's Opinion, and even entertain'd Hopes of seeing him in *London*, he receiv'd the following Letter from the Lord-Keeper *Bridgman*.

SIR, July 26. 1668.

I Receiv'd your's yesterday Morning after you were gone, and am afraid the Letter which I sent you from Mr. Williamson, *might come unseasonably to you; it not being so intended by me; nor I believe the Message from the King to be otherwise intended, than out of Kindness and Respect to you, to hasten you away; that you might know how important he held your Negotiations might be for his Service, at this critical time: and therefore I should be glad that you would take this by the right Handle. I had a Letter this Night from Sir* Thomas Clifford, *who writes, that they in the Treasury have a great desire to accommodate you; and tho it be not in the Privy-Seal that you shall have three Months advance, besides the* 1000 l. *yet they will be careful that you receive the Mony as it is due. The Draught of the Instructions is sent away to my Lord* Arlington, *and expected back on* Tuesday *Night; and the foreign Committee appointed to sit on* Wednesday *to dispatch them. Really, Sir, I do not think that there is any Intention in pressing your Departure for* Holland, *but just and honourable towards you, and with respect to the Greatness of the Employment, and the Urgency of the King's Affairs at the* Hague: *And (if you will take my Opinion) I would not have you take other Measures of it, even for your own sake. In the mean time, while you do stay, you may press on the Business of your Account, tho I should not advise you to retard your Journey upon that score. It may be as well press'd by your Lady, if she do not accompany you; or else by*

your Sollicitors, (among whom I will be one) who if any Obſtructions be, may write to you to remove them: But you will find the Vice-Chamberlain dilatory, and then your Stay, at laſt, upon this new Buſineſs, may beget a miſconſtruction. You will pardon the freedom I take, in imparting my own Thoughts to you in this caſe, &c.

Upon the King's Meſſage mention'd in this Letter, and the obliging Sollicitations of the Lord-Keeper, Sir *William Temple* haſten'd his departure from *London*, and about the latter end of *Auguſt* N. S. arriv'd at the *Hague*, with the Character of the King's Ambaſſador. While he yet remain'd *Incognito*, he enter'd into Conferences firſt with Monſieur *Mierman*, and afterwards * with Monſieur *De Wit*, about the Concerns of the *Guinea* Company; and told them the King's Commands to him, in that point, were only to procure the Reference of it to Commiſſioners for the adjuſting Rules, by which both Companies ſhould proceed, and thereby preventing their acting wholly by Rules and Officers of their own; which had been the firſt Occaſion of the unhappy Diſputes between both Nations, and might poſſibly prove ſo again. Mr. *De Wit* allow'd his Majeſty's Conſideration to be very prudent and neceſſary; aſſur'd Sir *William*, that the States would ſecond thoſe good Intentions; and that when he could find the Matter of Fact and Right, but alledg'd in diſtinct Teſtimonies of known Perſons, he doubted not but he ſhould eaſily find a Compoſure for all theſe Diſputes, and agree upon a conſtant Regulation for the future. Sir *William Temple*, according to his Inſtructions, inſiſted upon Commiſſioners; and argu'd its being a

* September 6. N. S. *See Sir* William Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 5. & ſeq.

matter

matter much more proper for ſuch to debate and determine, as underſtood the Coaſts, Situation, manner of Trade in thoſe Parts, former Poſſeſſions, and Matters of Fact paſt, than for them two, how willing ſoever they ſhould be to inform themſelves, or to find Expedients. Monſieur *De Wit* ſeem'd inclin'd it ſhould be ſo; at leaſt, when the Pretenſions were ſtated, ſo as it might appear what was to be refer'd to ſuch Commiſſioners: But upon this he fell into the Diſcourſe of ſome Exceptions to the Marine Treaty; by which the *London Eaſt-India* Company thought themſelves aggriev'd; and how willing the States would be to alter the Form of Paſſports, when they knew how the *Engliſh* deſir'd it: And if the King wiſh'd any more particular Definition of what ſhould be eſteem'd a *Town inveſted*, he did not doubt he and Sir *William* might agree upon that too; having found him always to propoſe only what he thought reaſonable, and to agree to what he found ſo; and that he (Monſieur *De Wit*) was made after the ſame manner, and ſo he ſhould always find him. The thing he would be at was, upon occaſion of this *Guinea* matter, to know at once the Bottom of all the *Engliſh* pretended, in point of regulating Commerce between the two Nations; having undoubtedly been inform'd of all the Noiſe made in *England*, by the *Eaſt-India* Company, upon the Subject of the *Marine Treaty*, or by their Patrons, either out of Zeal to the Good of the *Engliſh* Trade, or out of Envy at the Succeſs of the late Counſels and Alliances, by which the King had the whole Honour of giving Peace to Chriſtendom, over and above the Advantage of ſecuring his own Kingdoms. But Sir *William*, who had no Inſtructions about it, declin'd entring into that Field, till he was further inſtructed; which, he believ'd, he might be in a little time. However, he reſolv'd to ſay all he had

thought, or the Earl of *Arlington* had infus'd into him, upon that Subject; and told Monſieur *De Wit*, that tho he could not enter into Particulars; yet, ſince he gave him the occaſion, he would once for all, into the general. Hereupon he 'diſcours'd over to 'him the common Intereſt, and indeed Neceſſity of 'preſerving perpetual the preſent Alliances between 'both Nations, eſpecially on their ſide, while the 'Dangers were ſo great, from the AMBITION and 'POWER, as well as Neighbourhood of *France*; 'the *great Overtures* would *now* be made to *Eng-'land* from thence, to the Prejudice of this Alli-'ance, and *at all other times, whenever they could 'hope the* Engliſh *were ready to receive them.* That 'tho he (Sir *William*) could give him no Jealouſy 'of them now, but on the contrary, aſſure him he 'might be at eaſe on that ſide; and that the King 'would only have the Honour of ſetting them 'an Example of his Sincerity and Conſtancy, 'which he would expect they ſhould follow when 'the Game began with them, as it would after 'it ended with him: yet he (Sir *William*) would 'tell him, that *France* was, at all times, *capable 'of making us ſuch Offers, and of giving us our 'preſent Account ſo well, tho in Exchange, per-'haps, of Danger to come, (in caſe of no new Revolu-'tions) that whenever there ſhould be in* England *a 'Prince leſs upright or leſs foreſeeing than his Ma-'jeſty, or either a* WEAK *or* CORRUPTIBLE 'MINISTRY, *he could not anſwer what Meaſures 'we ſhould take. That, upon this ground, he thought 'they could not do wiſer, than to root this Alliance in 'the very Hearts of the People, and current Genius 'of the Nation,* and not rely wholly upon the pre-'ſent Inclinations or Judgment of his Majeſty, or 'the Diſpoſitions of the Miniſters: For if there 'were any thing that lay croſs to it, in the com-'mon Intereſt or Humour of the People, it would

'be

'be, upon all occaſions, breaking out to diſturb
'it; and whenever that ſhould concur with the Diſ-
'poſitions of the Prince, they would be able to
'make a great Noiſe in the World. Sir *William*
'added, that many Perſons in *England*, either to
'make way for the *French* Alliance, by weakning
'or breaking this; or elſe, perhaps, to diſcredit
'the moſt applauded Counſels of the preſent Mi-
'niſtry, had rais'd a Clamour about the *Marine*
'*Treaty*, as if it had been a * ruining the Nation;
'and from thence took occaſion to ſuggeſt, that
'we ſhould never find any Fairneſs or Equality, in
'all we treated with the *Dutch*, but Subtilty,
'Hardſhip, and Injuſtice; and when occaſion was,
'Obſtinacy and Injury in all Matters of Commerce
'between us: while we gave them Reaſon to be-
'lieve we thought their Friendſhip neceſſary, or
'very convenient to us. That he (Sir *William*)
'ever ſince he knew Monſieur *De Wit*, had main-
'tain'd the contrary to his Majeſty; aſſur'd him
'of the Sincerity he had found in all their Pro-
'ceedings, and confidently believ'd, that his Ma-
'jeſty ſhould find them ever reaſonable and eaſy,
'in what ſhould be offer'd to reduce Matters of
'Commerce to an Equality. That not only all
'his Credit, and perhaps Fortune, which was a
'ſmall Matter, depended upon their making this
'good: But what was conſiderable, that the very
'Safety of our Alliance might, at one time or
'other, come to be at Stake upon it too; and
'therefore he thought they could not do a wiſer
'thing, than to give us all reaſonable Satisfaction
'in theſe Points. That an Equality it ſelf would
'be the ſame Advantage to them, that a long
'Arm againſt a ſhort would be between two Men
'with equal Swords; for conſidering their Par-

* *How far this runs Parallel with the late Clamours about the* BARRIER TREATY, *let others determine.*

'ſimony, Induſtry, Neceſſity of turning all their 'Stock to Trade for want of Land, and multitude 'of People; and, on the other ſide, our native 'Luxury, want of Order or Application, our Ex-'tent and Cheapneſs of Land, and Eaſe of Taxes, 'which made People chuſe to turn their Mony that 'way: they could never fail of Advantage enough 'in any *Equality*; and upon it would find the ſu-'reſt, the moſt commodious Ally, and the beſt 'able to protect them that they could have in the 'World; being without any Ambition or Deſigns 'among our Neighbours, further than to keep the 'BALLANCE of *Chriſtendom*: And yet, on the 'other ſide, the ONLY POWER that was FEARED 'BY FRANCE, and that were able, in Conjunction 'of our Fleets with theirs, to awe them, by what 'they might ſuffer from Sea, into ſome Conſide-'ration of what was fit for them to act at Land.'

Sir *William Temple*, during this Diſcourſe, finding Monſieur *De Wit* very attentive, and willing to let him go on, with Marks in his Countenance, of reliſhing and approving what he ſaid, reſolv'd to go yet one Point further, and to the Root of all that could ſpring into any Jealouſies between the two Nations. Hereupon he told Monſieur *De Wit*, 'It was true, that there wanted not 'ſome among us, that would be ſo wiſe to know, 'that it was impoſſible for us ever to fall into any 'firm * Confidence with the States upon their 'preſent Conſtitution; nor particularly with him, 'upon the Prince of *Orange*'s occaſion: that for his 'part, he was not at all of that mind; that tho 'the King could not loſe the Affection he had for 'his Nephew, yet he was of Opinion, he could not 'expreſs it better, than by infuſing into him the 'Belief, *that he could make himſelf no way ſo happy 'as in the Good-will of the States, and truſting wholly*

* *See the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. *p.* 309.

'*to*

'*to them in the Courſe of his Fortunes, and not to pri-*
'*vate Factions, or foreign Intrigues and Applications.*
'That his Majeſty was of Opinion himſelf, *That*
'*Princes were not apt to do themſelves more Hurt, and*
'*make themſelves leſs any ways, than by affecting too*
'*much Power, or ſuch as was directly contrary to the*
'*Stomach and Genius of the Country which fell to their*
'*ſhare.* That beſides this, he knew his Majeſty
'was ſo juſt and ſo reaſonable, that tho he ſhould
'take kindly of the States, any Reſpect they ſhould
'ſhew his Nephew; yet he (Sir *William*) did not
'believe he would offer that to any other King
'or State, which he ſhould not take well that
'any other ſhould offer to him; or ever would
'be put upon any ſuch Deſigns by his Council, or
'his People's Inclinations: *For they who look'd upon*
'*the Prince in a Poſſibility of one day to be their*
'*King; and that lov'd a Prince, who grounded his*
'*Power in the Affections of the People, and lov'd to*
'*rule by Law; had rather, perhaps, ſee the Prince of*
'Orange *happy in the Good-will of the States, and*
'*ſuch moderate Power as they ſhould think conſiſtent*
'*with their Government, than of a Humour that aim'd*
'*at any thing that might tend to ſubvert their Civil*
'*Conſtitutions.* So that Sir *William* ſaw nothing of
'Danger to them upon this Chapter, either from
'the Judgment or Diſpoſition of his Majeſty, or
'the Humour of the Nation; but was confident,
'in caſe they could agree upon Matters of Com-
'merce, nothing could ever intervene to break an
'Alliance that was ſo uſeful to both Nations, and all
'Chriſtendom.' Upon this Diſcourſe, Monſieur *De*
Wit, with very great Signs of Satisfaction, told
Sir *William Temple*, 'That all he had ſaid was ſo
'reaſonable, that he agreed perfectly with him in
'it: That he had obſerv'd a kind of Sympathy be-
'tween them two, which would ever make any
'thing eaſy which they ſhould fall in Treaty of.'

'That

'That he knew Sir *William* had been the Occaſion
'of giving him, in *England*, the Reputation of
'an honeſt ſincere Man; and he would never loſe
'his, by giving cauſe to believe other of him.
'That he confeſs'd he had ever told Sir *William*,
'that the States would be ever contented with an
'Equality with *England*, in point of Trade; and,
'that provided they might know what it was
'*England* would be at, and propos'd nothing but
'what was equal and reciprocal between the two
'Nations; he would give him his hand, (as he did)
'that he would uſe his endeavours to give us
'Satisfaction in it; and he thought he knew the
'Minds of the States ſo well, that he durſt almoſt
'promiſe it him beforehand, in their Names. That
'for any thing amiſs in the *Marine Treaty*, he did
'not ſee how any Complaint could be made of
'what Sir *William Temple* had done in it: But that
'the Ambaſſadors at *Breda* ought to anſwer for
'that, if there were any thing ill in it; the Treaty
'Sir *William* ſign'd being, Word for Word, the
'ſame with theirs; and both Parties Conſent being
'neceſſary to alter what was then proviſional, and
'what was now formally eſtabliſh'd. That for the
'Form of Paſſports, the defining what Towns
'ſhould be ſaid to be beſieg'd, and even for any
'other Matters that ſhould be thought neceſſary
'to be added to the *Marine Treaty*, ſince nothing
'elſe was deſir'd to be alter'd; if the King would
'inſtruct Sir *William* fully in all Points, and that
'they prov'd, as he ſaid, equal and reciprocal, he
'would once more undertake they ſhould agree
'upon them: But only deſir'd, that no uſe might
'be made of this, to encourage either the *Eaſt-*
'*India* Company, or others, to make new Excep-
'tions or Demands. From this, he diſcours'd of
'our Alliance, and the Conſiderations we had to
'ſtrengthen and continue it; and how much he
'was

'was pleas'd with what Sir *William* ſaid of the 'King's Reſolution, of his *ſhewing them an Exam-* 'ple of *Conſtancy*, and that he ought not to doubt 'their following it. That the *States* had *ſuck'd* 'in that *Principle like Milk*, which was already paſs'd 'into the very Fleſh and Subſtance of their Body. 'That he knew *France* would try them, as well 'as *England*; and he would not ſay, but they 'might poſſibly gain ſome one of the little Pro- 'vinces: but for *Holland*, in particular, and the 'Provinces in general, it was not a thing to be 'thought on.' From this Monſieur *De Wit* fell to ſpeak of the Prince of *Orange*, and ſeem'd very much pleas'd with what Sir *William Temple* had ſaid on that Subject, both of the King's Diſpoſitions, and the People's Humours and Thoughts; eſpecially that of the King, of *doing as he would be done by:* He added what he had ſaid formely, 'that the 'States Intentions were, to make the Prince of 'Orange Captain-General of the Forces, and Ad- 'miral too, tho it was not mention'd; and to 'this purpoſe they would already have brought 'him into the Council of State, in order to fit 'him for thoſe Charges, had it not been for ſome 'of the Provinces that had hinder'd it, upon pre- 'tence of more Kindneſs to him, and deſigning 'greater matters for him. That it was, in- 'deed, agreed thoſe Employments were inconſi- 'ſtent with that of *Stadtholder*; which gave as 'much Authority in the Civil, as the others in 'the Military part of the Government. That 'conſidering the Smallneſs of their State, and 'Greatneſs of their *Militia*, there was an end of 'their Republick when both were in one Hand. 'That for his part, if he had been born under a 'King, he could never have conſented to what 'his Anceſtors did towards the King of *Spain*; 'but being born under a Commonwealth, and

'ſworn

'ſworn to maintain it, he could conſent to no-
'thing that ſhould deſtroy it: And he wonder'd
'how it had ſubſiſted ſo long in that Danger,
'which was to be attributed to their conſtant
'Wars abroad, and to the great Moderation of
'this Prince's Predeceſſors, among whom none
'had Thoughts of it but the laſt: *nor would he ever*
'*have fallen into them, without having been put upon*
'*them by the* FRENCH, *who had his* BREED-
'ING *and his* EDUCATION. That if he had
'liv'd, he would have been the ableſt of all the
'*Race.*' And from hence fell into Commendation of this young Prince's Parts and Diſpoſitions: And ſo this matter ended. However, we may here take notice of a Paſſage that happen'd ſome Months before, and which ſhews, that Monſieur *De Wit*'s pretended Kindneſs to the Prince of *Orange*, (afterwards King *William* III.) was but a political Compliment to his Royal Uncle. The Houſe, it ſeems, where his Highneſs liv'd at the *Hague*, properly belong'd to the States; but had, for many Years, been aſſign'd for the uſe of his Family. Now his Highneſs's Enemies, who were continually ſtudying how they might depreſs and mortify him, reſolv'd to expel him out of his Houſe. But *De Wit* being ſent to him with the Meſſage, the young Prince with a Boldneſs and Sedateneſs becoming his Extraction, made Anſwer, *That He, his Father, Grandfather, and Great Grandfather, having ſo long liv'd in that Houſe, he was very unwilling to leave it; and the Penſionary might go and tell the States, he would not, till forc'd out of it.* This being come to King *Charles*'s Ear, the Lord *Arlington* took notice of it in a * Letter to Sir *William Temple*, in theſe words: *You know how*

* *See the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 309. *Dated* April 6. 1668. O. S.

tender

tender his Majeſty has been in preſſing the States to do any thing for the Prince, inconſiſtent with the Maxims of their preſent Government: If his Majeſty's Diſcretion ſhould expoſe his Nephew to ſuch a Mortification, what would his Highneſs, and all Standers-by ſay of it, eſpecially at a time when England *and* Holland *are ſo united? His Majeſty is loth to enter into any Expoſtulation in this matter, till he knows the truth of it; which he thinks he cannot better come by, than by your queſtioning Monſieur* De Wit *upon this Subject, and deriving your Curioſity therein from common Fame: as likewiſe to know what kind of Figure his Highneſs ſhall make this Campaign, in caſe the* Holland *Army take the Field.* Sir *William Temple* follow'd theſe Directions; and Monſieur *De Wit* having reported the Prince's Anſwer, and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's private Expoſtulation to the States, they thought it Prudence to let the matter die. Moreover, in the firſt Interview Sir *William Temple* had, at this time, with Monſieur *De Wit*, he repreſented to the Penſionary, *how well his Majeſty had taken his former Expreſſions of Kindneſs to the Perſon of the Prince; and how he hop'd he would expreſs it in ſome particular Care of his Highneſs's private Affairs, which his Majeſty heard were running to ruin.* The Penſionary ſaid, 'They were, indeed, 'in an ill Condition, but he thought not ſo bad 'as they were ſaid to be. That he had that very 'Morning been inſtructing him in the Finances of 'that State, as his Courſe was to go over all the 'matters that concern'd their Government; and 'the Knowledg whereof would be neceſſary to 'make him fit for the Service of his Country. 'That he had taken occaſion likewiſe to put him 'in mind of his own particular Revenue; and he 'hop'd he would fall into the Care of it.' As for the Princeſs *Dowager*'s deſign to lay down the Guardianſhip of his Highneſs, (a thing much talk'd on

at this time, and push'd on by some (for certain Ends that never came to publick Knowledg) Monsieur *De Wit* pretended that he was altogether ignorant of it: The *English* Ambassador told him, *He had several Letters for the Prince, and desir'd his Opinion, whether it was fit he should deliver them as soon as he could?* The Pensionary answer'd, by all means. Sir *William Temple* added, That *the King, his Master, had commanded him to live with the Prince, as his Nephew, and a Grandchild of* England; *and in that Respect, by order of Council, that he was to give him Precedency upon all Occasions; and at least, to make up in Respect whatever wanted in more material Offices. That upon this Subject he would tell the Pensionary once for all, that he would rather quit his Employment, than live with any Restraint upon that Point. That he would desire him to protect him in it, against any jealous or exceptious Persons that might be among the States, and might be shock'd at any frequent Conversation with the Prince, in case it should grow between them. That he would assure him, the direct Instructions the King had given him, concerning his Highness, were to infuse into him the Desire and Value of supporting himself wholly upon the Affection and Good-will of the States, and not upon any private Factions; and that for his own part, he would make good his Word to him, that neither in that, nor in any thing else, he would be the Man that should deceive him.* The Pensionary made answer, *It was wise in the King; and he firmly believ'd the Ambassador would not deceive him, tho he might do it easier than another; since no Minister ever came to the States, of whom they entertain'd so good an Opinion, as they did of Sir* William Temple.

Another Passage relating to the Prince of *Orange*, deserves to be taken notice of in this place: His Highness's Friends and Relations were justly sollicitous, how he might raise his low Condition to

 the

the former Splendor of his Family; which could not be done but by a wary and gradual Progreſſion. The *Zealanders* ſeem'd to be well affected towards his Highneſs; and therefore having privately gain'd the major part of their States to his Intereſt, he pretended a Journey to *Breda*, upon a Deſign of Hunting only; but inſtead of any long ſtay there, he went for *Zealand*, where the States being aſſembled, he deſir'd Admittance, and then propos'd his being choſen *firſt Noble*, according as had been done to his Anceſtors at Eighteen Years old; and promis'd to him at the ſame Age, which he had now reach'd within two Months. This they readily conſented to, with great Expreſſions of Kindneſs to him: And ſome expected they would have proceeded to the electing him to be Stadtholder of that Province; but things were not yet ripe for ſo great a Change. The Prince's Inſtrument in this Affair, was Monſieur *D'Odyke*, in conjunction with the Princeſs *Dowager* of *Orange*: But the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſuſpected the *Engliſh* Miniſter had a hand in the Contrivance, during the time of his being at the *Hague*. Sir *William Temple* aſſures us of the contrary: And indeed the Earl of *Arlington*'s * Directions to him thereupon were, 'That his Majeſty not being able to judg what 'the Conſequences of it might be in *Holland*, and 'fearing leſt the Suſpicion of his having had 'knowledg thereof, might diſturb his Ambaſſa-'dor's Negotiation; he ſhould take care to obviate 'all Jealouſy upon it; and that neither the State 'nor Mr. *De Wit*, ſhould receive any Umbrage up-'on it.' Accordingly, Sir *William Temple* diſcours'd with divers of the States, and particularly with the Penſionary; who, tho frankly, yet coldly, told

* *See the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 350. *This Letter is dated* September 14. O. S. 1668.

him, *That there would be no ill Conſequence of the Prince being choſen firſt Noble: and, for his part, if his Highneſs had imparted his Deſign to him, he ſhould not only have conſented to his attempting it, at that time, but ſerv'd him in it. However, that the manner was ſomewhat ſhocking, having come, the Day before he went out of Town, to take his Leave, and ſaid all that could be to diſguiſe any ſuch Intention: Which ſeem'd to ſhew, he would not think of living in any Confidence with the States, nor with thoſe into whoſe Care they had committed him. That if it ſhould proceed to his being choſen Stadtholder of* Zealand, *it would come to breed a ſharpneſs between the two Provinces: That* Zealand *would pretend he ſhould enter into the Council of State upon that Right; and by virtue of a former Reſolution, that the Stadtholder of every Province ſhould have that Privilege, which was, when every Province had that Magiſtrate: That now* Holland *having none, nor was like to have any, they doubted it would hardly be conſented to, while others of the States ſaid abſolutely it would not.* And ſo the Penſionary concluded, *That the Prince had gain'd nothing by this ſtep, beſides entring into the States-General as deputed from* Zealand, *and repreſenting the Nobility of that Province.* Whatever Monſieur *De Wit* thought of that Step, his Highneſs, by this time, began to ſhew himſelf a very forward and hopeful Prince: So that he deſerv'd this Character from Sir *William Temple*; *That he was a young Man of more Parts than ordinary, and of the better ſort; that is, not lying in that kind of Wit which is neither of uſe to one's ſelf, nor any body elſe, but in good plain Senſe; which ſhew'd Application, if he had Buſineſs that deſerv'd it; and this with extream good and agreeable Humour and Diſpoſition, without any Vice: That he was aſleep a-bed by Ten a Clock: Lov'd* Hunting *as much as he hated* Swearing; *and prefer'd* Cock-Ale, *before any* Wine. Sir *William Temple* having

tranſ-

tranſmitted particular Accounts of his firſt Steps at the *Hague* to the Court of *England*, the King, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord-Keeper, and Earl of *Arlington*, highly *applauded* * *his Ability and Skill, for having ſo ſufficiently and ſeaſonably ſounded the Mind of Monſieur* De Wit; *and were all well pleas'd with the Temper Sir* William *obſerv'd that Government to be in, towards the maintaining a good Correſpondence with* England: *Which*, however, the Earl of *Arlington* ſaid, *he ſhould never think ſufficiently cemented, till he found them eaſy in thoſe Points committed to Sir* William's *Care*, relating to the *Guinea* and *Eaſt-India* Companies, and the *Marine-Treaty*; for the adjuſting of which, he directed Sir *William* to inſiſt on Commiſſioners: *and that he ſaw* Spain *come roundly off with the Payment of the Mony to* Sweden. The Earl of *Arlington* likewiſe acknowledg'd his Majeſty's Satisfaction in the Accounts Sir *William* gave, of the Prince's Perſon and Affairs; with further Directions, *to take care that his Highneſs's Courteſy ſhould not over-rule Sir* William's *Order in the Viſits to him:* Which his Excellency perform'd with conſtant punctuality; both out of Duty and particular Reſpect and Affection to the Prince; being wonderfully pleas'd and delighted with his inquiſitive Genius.

All this while Sir *William Temple* reſided, as it were, *incognito* at the *Hague*, by reaſon of the Difficulties attending the Forms of his Character of Ambaſſador; which hindred him from receiving, and returning Viſits to Miniſters of an inferior Character; and reſtrain'd him to meet them only † *in third Places.* He wiſh'd this Obſtruction to Buſineſs might have been remov'd, and wrote about it to the Earl of *Arlington*; but the King would follow

* *See the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 345, 346, 347, & ſeq.

† *Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, ubi ſupra.

cloſe

cloſe the *French* Ceremonial: And ſo an Order of Council was ſent to Sir *William*, whereby he was forbid to give *Envoys and Reſidents the Precedence in his own Houſe*, and allow'd to *ſee them only in third Places.* Hereupon Sir *William* wrote to the Lord-Keeper, 'That * tho they muſt be content to follow, ſince 'the *Engliſh* Court were not at preſent of a humour to lead; yet he believ'd he could order it 'ſo, as *Spain* and *Sweden*, and the *States-General*, 'ſhould alter the Cuſtom by Conſent, with *Eng-*'*land.* That he wiſh'd his Majeſty might have 'ſaid ſingly, *he would follow no other Prince's Rules* '*but the old ones which he had us'd, and ſeem'd to* '*approve, by Sir* George Downing's *Demands*; *and* '*ſo had given him (Sir* William) *order, at his firſt Co-*'*ming, to give the Hand and Door, as all Ambaſſa-*'*dors did, till the* French *Caprice chang'd it, about* '*eight Years before.* That this he took to have 'been of more Honour, as well as Advantage to 'his Majeſty; but that, it ſeems, he (Sir *William*) 'did not underſtand right: tho, perhaps, others 'would have underſtood it ſo too, if they had 'ſeen both *Spain*, *Sweden*, and the *States*, follow 'his Majeſty's Example; which was every body's 'Opinion, they would have done; as it was many 'People's, that *France* it ſelf would have fallen in 'too, upon the Advantage in Commerce with o-'ther Miniſters, which would have follow'd it. 'For if Sir *William* had given it, not one Reſident 'would ever have ſeen the *French* Ambaſſador with-'out it; whereas two or three of them now did 'both him and Sir *William Temple*. That he was 'ſure, if *France* underſtood it right, they would 'take an occaſion to change it themſelves, and to 'reap the firſt Profit, and all the Honour, as well 'as Pleaſure, of ſeeing all the reſt dance after

* *Sir* William Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 22. & ſeq.

them

'them both up and down, as their Leaders in a 'Country-Dance: but that, for his part, *he had* 'as lieve be lame as do ſo; *and he could not tell why* 'his *Majeſty ſhould not think of being in the Head*, 'both *of the Affairs and Forms of* Chriſtendom, *as* 'well as any *of his neighbour Kings.*'

As to the main part of Sir *William Temple*'s Embaſſy, *viz.* the *Guaranty* of the late Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, upon the Report, that the Marquiſs *De Caſtel-Rodrigo* being recall'd from the Government of the *Spaniſh-Netherlands*, deſign'd to paſs through *England* to *Spain*; Sir *William*, in the ſame Letter, anſwer'd the Lord-Keeper's Deſire, and wrote to him, what he judg'd fit to be propos'd to that *Spaniſh* Grandee. *I will*, ſaid he, *give you my Opinion concerning our Affairs with* Spain, *tho I am likely enough to be prejudic'd in it, by ſo particular Acquaintance with the weakneſs of their preſent Conduct, and Diviſion of their Counſels, as well as the Conſequences of them; which are, want of Order in their Government, their Armies, their Revenue; and, I doubt at preſent, even of Genius in their Nation, which ever riſes and falls, according to that of the Prince or Miniſtry: For, if Men ſee the way to riſe, is by Worth and virtuous Qualities, the Genius of a Nation will run that way, and produce* great * Subjects. *If they can hope to do it by vicious Humours, by little Arts, by warm Purſuits every Man of his own Intereſts, the whole Spirit runs into thoſe Courſes; and perhaps the faſter, from the propenſion of our Natures rather to ill than to Good. —— After all, I am of Opinion, that* OUR *preſent* INTEREST, *and that of all* Chriſtendom *beſides, in ſome meaſure,* IS THE DEFENCE *of* SPAIN; *and not only in* Flanders, *but* IN ALL *other* PARTS, *where it ſhall not be able to defend it ſelf* AGAINST THE POWER AND AMBITION

* *I take this to be a* Galliciſm, *to expreſs* great Men.

OF

OF FRANCE; *from whence alone we have all our preſent Fears, and ſhall find our Dangers upon any further Growth. For if a great Acceſſion ſhould come to them in* Navarre, Catalonia, Italy, *during the* Spaniſh *King's Life, or upon his Death, as there will be in* Lorrain *after this old Duke's Life; we ſhould find them more formidable and troubleſome even in our Neighbourhood; as Nouriſhment taken in by one Part, increaſes Strength in all, if it be once digeſted. 'Tis true, if for want of Heat or Strength of Nature, it be not digeſted into the very Subſtance of the Body, it will grow weaker rather than ſtronger by it: as we ſee in* Spain, *the Spirit began to fail by the Weakneſs of their Kings and Miniſters. For this reaſon, and for all thoſe which formerly engag'd us ſo firmly to bear up* France *and* Holland *againſt the Houſe of* Auſtria, *I think it is our* common Intereſt to bear up *Spain* now againſt *France; and the more, in reſpect of their being now lower than ever the others were, by reaſon of the King's tender Life, and the Diſtraction like to enſue on his Death, if their Affairs find no ſteddy* Support *from their Neighbours.* Now, if Sir *William Temple* was of this Opinion in the Year 1668, what would that great Stateſman have ſaid, had he liv'd to ſee *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* yielded to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, by a Treaty chiefly manag'd by *Engliſh* Miniſters? *If we were*, continues Sir *William Temple*, *what we have been, what we might be, and God knows why we are not, at home; I think our Intereſt were to enter ſingly into a* Defenſive League *with* Spain, *and we might either preſerve their Peace, or elſe hope to make a ſhort War; and with ſuch Advantages as might countervail what our Trade would ſuffer, and the* Dutch *grow, during the time of our being in War, and they in Peace. My reaſon for making in that caſe the League ſingle, is, becauſe we might thereby reap alone all the Advantages which* Spain *would be able to give for their Defence;*

fence; which would be great, as low as they are, not only in point of Trade in their Wools *and* Logwood, *but by great Penſions in yearly Quantities of Salt from* Sardinia *and other Parts; which is much beyond any* French *Salts, and would be the ſame as Mony to his Majeſty, conſidering what Quantities his Kingdoms ſpend. And beſides, I doubt not they would offer us conſtant Payments of ready Mony: and if we could make War abroad at their Charge, and without preſſing too much the Subject at Home, or needing them at every turn; I know nothing were more glorious, nor perhaps more ſafe and advantageous for us, than to be in Action abroad; eſpecially, if it were in Conjunction of Three againſt One, and not as we were lately, One againſt Three.* —— *This we may be ſure of, that the* Spaniards *will give more for our* Defenſive League, *than for all others; will not much care for any others, ſo they may have ours: and, in ſhort, will give for it whatever they are able. But the Queſtion is, whether we are able to take ſo vigorous a Counſel, and I doubt not. Therefore the next would be to know, whether we are ſo, to enter into their Defence, jointly with* Sweden; *which would either awe the* French *into a continuance of the Peace, or elſe, without doubt, make the Party ſtrong enough for the War: And in this caſe, we muſt be content to ſhare with* Sweden *whatever* Spain *can any way give for the Purchaſe of their Defence; and where our Gains are leſs, the Conſideration will be more, of what we may loſe, or the* Dutch *gain in Trade, if a War ſhould break out and laſt: For there would be no other Reflections, ſince the* Swedes, *I believe, would enter into the League upon ſuch Terms as* Spain *could make them: And the* Dutch *would ask nothing better, than to ſee us all in War, and themſelves in Peace, without Danger of the War ending in the Growth of the* French *Power.* —*The third way is entring into a* Defenſive League *with* Spain, Sweden *and* Holland; *for in all Caſes,*

I ſuppoſe, we might reckon the Emperor, *as far as that would ſignify. This, I think, were certainly to be deſir'd, in what caſe ſoever we may be, either to accept or decline the other two. But the Ills in this are, Firſt, the unlikelihood of* Holland's *engaging in it; for I could never, ſince my firſt Acquaintance herē, find any Diſpoſition towards it; and then the Incapacity of* Spain *to ſatisfy the Pretenſions of Benefit from them, which we might all three pretend; for* Holland *would reſolve to have a ſhare, if we had any: ſo that the particular Advantage would grow only to* Sweden, *by certain Subſidies or Benefits in Trade from* Spain; *and we and* Holland *ſhould content our ſelves with the certainty of preventing a War, by ſo powerful a League. As for matter of propoſing to the Marquiſs, I ſuppoſe he will know as well as we, that the Propoſals ought to come from him, at leaſt till he deſires to know of us, what we demand upon a* Defenſive League; *which is certainly the Deſire of* Spain, *either with us ſingly, or in Conjunction with the reſt; and were the more to be wiſh'd, for the preventing the* Spaniards *from falling into* A DESPERATE COUNSEL OF AGREEING WITH FRANCE, *and quitting* Flanders *to them, for Advantage on the other ſide; and a good deal for Revenge of their* NEIGHBOURS PRESSING SO HARD UPON THEM, BY A DISADVANTAGEOUS PEACE; *and afterwards Irreſolution of maintaining that it ſelf, by a* Defenſive League. *If the King ſhould think fit to endeavour the diſpoſing of the* Dutch *to enter into it (which for my part I think they are engag'd in by the Peace at* Aix) *I ſhould make ſome Trials, and give Account of what I find: for I fear we are not growing faſt enough, into a Poſture of making theſe Paces alone; at leaſt, by what I could obſerve, or hear, during my ſhort ſtay in* England; *which was but too much entertain'd with Ill-bodings and Complaints. But,* Quid triſtes Querimoniæ ſi non ſupplicio culpa reciditur? Quid leges

ges ſine moribus vanæ proficiunt? *Without great Virtue and Steddineſs in the Government, and Reſolution of going through with whatſoever is thought fit and juſt, whereby Men may ſee that the* only way to riſe, is to deſerve it; all TAMPERING of FACTIONS, TAKING OFF PERSONS, and SOOTHING OF PARTIES, IS but PATCHING UP AN ILL HOUSE: *I mean, not* Virtue, *in a peaking formal* Presbyterian *ſenſe; but that which the greateſt Nations of old ſo politickly favour'd and renown'd; which conſiſted in thoſe Qualities that made Men fit for the Service of their Princes and Countries, by ſtrong and healthful Diſpoſitions, both of Bodies and Minds.* What ſuperior Genius ſuggeſted theſe wholeſom Maxims to Sir *William Temple!* Did he in this barely animadvert on the Vices of that Reign; or did he foreſee, with the ſame Preciſion as Mathematicians do Eclipſes, that after the Revolution of near two *Solar* * *Cycles, Tricking, Bare-fac'd Lying, Calumny, Debauchery,* and the turning the moſt ſacred and ſerious things into *Ridicule,* would be the chief Qualifications of ſome Politicians, and the readieſt way to Preferment?

As to the Amendments of the *Marine Treaty* between *England* and *Holland,* concerning which Mr. *Williamſon* tranſmitted to Sir *William Temple,* the Reſolutions of the foreign Committee; Sir *William* fell into the Debate of that Affair, in all its Particulars, with Monſieur *De Wit:* and having agreed upon moſt of them, he wrote † to the Earl of *Arlington, That* De Wit's *Exceptions to the reſt ſeem'd ſo reaſonable, that he muſt be furniſh'd with Arguments to maintain the Points againſt him, if*

* *The* Solar Cycle, *according to the* Julian *Calendar, conſiſts of* 28 *Years.*

† *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters,* Vol. II. p. 31.

they muſt be inſiſted on; for, he confeſs'd, he could find none of his own. Sir *William* had alſo ſeveral Conferences about the *Flag* with Monſieur *De Wit*; who ſeem'd to have a friendly Compoſition of that matter much at heart, believing no Quarrel could happen between the two Nations, if that Occaſion were once out of the way. He therefore highly applauded the Lord-Keeper's Inclination, to bring it to ſome certainty; and deſir'd Sir *William* to offer to his Lordſhip, as moſt advantageous to a good Iſſue in it, *That the Expedients he* (De Wit) *propos'd, his Lordſhip would firſt mention as his own; becauſe whatever was offer'd from the* Dutch, *was commonly either ſuſpected or deſpis'd, even for its being ſo.* Sir *William* fail'd not communicating * theſe Overtures to my Lord-Keeper; and, at the ſame time, told him, 'how much he was pleas'd to find 'he had the Honour of agreeing with his Lord-'ſhip in all Points, particularly about the Bene-'fits of a *Quadruple League*; being the only thing 'that could crown the great Work his Majeſty 'had undertaken, of ſettling the Peace of *Chri-'ſtendom*, and giving a ſtop to the *French* Career, 'which ten Months before was in a fair way to 'over-run all, one after another; and ſtill hung 'like a Cloud over all their Neighbours heads, 'leaving every one in doubt, when, and where it 'would fall.' *Till that be compaſs'd*, added Sir *William*, *I ſhall hardly be ſecure of* Spain's *not trinkling, at one time or other, with* France, *for the remainder of* Flanders, *at leaſt upon ſuch a Revolution as would happen at that King's Death, if not before; nor of the* French *Party's getting ground enough again in* Sweden, *to turn the Biaſs of that Crown towards the* French *Intereſts, by the Offers of Mony, which can*

* *See his Letters*, Vol. II. p. 46. *This Letter bears date* Nov. 2. N. S.

beſt

beſt be made them on that ſide: whereas by ſuch a League Spain *would find their Account in keeping* Flanders, *and not fear any War, which the* French *Pretenſions there might engage them in.* Sweden *would find theirs, by ſome certain Subſidies from* Spain, *even in time of Peace; and by Aſſurance from them and us, of greater in caſe of a War.* Holland *would be broken off from all return into any new Meaſures with* France, *and be forc'd to follow the common Intereſts and Counſels of the Alliance.* Spain *and* Sweden *would be both hindred from entring into any ſeparate Concert or Treaty without us and* Holland. *The* Emperor *and Princes of the Empire, and Duke of* Lorrain, *would be glad to be admitted into ſuch an Alliance: And his Majeſty would remain Head and Director of a League, which would have the Glory of preſerving the Peace of* Chriſtendom, *and* CHECKING *and bounding the* FRENCH GREATNESS, *at a time when no other Prince durſt look it in the face. And in caſe of a War breaking out from* France, *in ſpite of all theſe Defences, I ſuppoſe, conſidering the Strength of the Alliance, and the Temper of our People at Home bent wholly upon theſe Counſels, his Majeſty would have rather Reaſon to deſire, than to apprehend it. I conceive the way of effecting ſuch a League, muſt be to make a Draught of it with Monſieur* De Wit, *if he can be finally diſpos'd to it; and that with all the Secrecy in the World: and to proceed in it, as near as is poſſible, with all the* Fairneſs *and* Equality, *on the Conſideration of each Party's Intereſts, which is the* only way to facilitate ſuch Negotiations. *And whenever we and Monſieur* De Wit *are agreed in it, then for his Majeſty to take upon him the propoſing it to* Spain, *and trying what private Advantages may be gain'd from that Crown, in conſideration of his both Propoſing and Effecting a matter ſo much to their Advantage. —— All that ſeems to be againſt ſuch a Counſel, is his Majeſty's preſent want of Treaſure; which*

Sr Temple foretells, that France, ... render ... terms with Spain, at that Kings Death, ... the Court of Sweden,

renders him in a Condition very unfit to enter into any Action abroad, by provoking France. *As to that; Firſt, the end of this Counſel is* Peace, *and not* War; *and ſeems, indeed, the only way to ſecure it, by letting* France *ſee, they cannot find their Account in a War: for till they ſee that, they will never leave the Deſigns of it. Then, inſtead of provoking* France, *I ſhould think this would make them much warmer in their Offers and Applications towards us, when they ſee, that without gaining us, they are abſolutely bound to the Peace: For to ſay the Truth,* our falling, at any time, into the *French* Intereſts, *is the ready way to a War abroad; wherein, it may be, we ſhall not have any preſent ſhare, but ſhall pay for our preſent Quiet with dear Intereſt of the utmoſt Danger, after two or three Years time. Beſides, tho our Condition is ill towards the Support of a War, 'tis the moſt imprudent thing we can do, perhaps, to own it, if we intend to continue any* Commerce * *abroad: whereas, looking our juſt Debts, both to our Neighbours and our ſelves, boldly in the Face, will, as it does ſometimes with a Merchant, hold up our Credit ſo high, that with good future Management, and the ſtrength of that, we may help to re-eſtabliſh our Eſtate; but, if not, nothing can keep us up ſo much, as being cloſely link'd with ſeveral other Traders of better Stock, who will by that means become engag'd not to let us ſink. And in caſe his Majeſty's Neceſſities ſhould keep him from furniſhing his Part towards the Support of any Action attending this* Quadruple Alliance, *'tis not to be imagin'd that* Spain *and* Holland *would not do their utmoſt towards his Supply, rather than loſe his Aſſiſtance, and leave him under the Temptation of falling into any new Meaſures with* France. *After all this, let his Majeſty make what Paces he pleaſe, either bold or tender, in the way he is (for I cannot think of a Change in that,*

* *He means Intercourſe and Correſpondence as well as Trading with foreign States.*

in

in the preſent Circumſtances) I know nothing will be ſo neceſſary, with the Foreſight either of Peace or War, as for his Majeſty not to be found, the next Spring, without any Mony in his Treaſury, or Credit to raiſe it ſpeedily and eaſily, without relying wholly upon his Parliament's Supplies, by any new Burdens upon the People: for that can hardly be done without long, and perhaps croſs Debates in the Houſe, *which leſſen his Majeſty's Credit with his Neighbours, more than the Supplies granted can raiſe it. And beſides, after ſo great Payments as the Kingdom has continu'd ever ſince his Majeſty's Reſolution, eſpecially during the laſt three Years, together with the great Diminution of Mony and Trade during the War; I queſtion whether any thing conſiderable can be rais'd in general upon the People, without ſome reaſonable Occaſions of Averſion and Complaints. But nothing, they ſay, is more the part of a weak Underſtanding, and unfit for Buſineſs, than to propoſe and enlarge upon Inconveniencies, without ſo much as offering Remedies; and therefore I ſhall ſay, that two Propoſals which have been already afoot, are very conſiderable towards this end,* viz. Firſt, *the ſelling of ſmall* Quit-Rents, *where the Sum is hardly worth the Charge of Raiſing; and yet by reaſon of the Trouble to the Tenant by them, they will yield Five or Six, if not Ten Years Purchaſe more than greater Rents. If this Counſel be tied up to theſe Circumſtances, I think it very advantageous, and as prejudicial, if it be ſuffer'd to go beyond them.* 2dly, *The ſelling of the Chimney-Mony would, I ſuppoſe, be eaſily granted by the Parliament; would take off the Tax, of all others moſt diſtaſtful to the People; and if ſold at eaſy and moderate Rates, would be taken kindly of the People, purchas'd readily, and yield a very great Sum; and the moſt equally rais'd that could be, holding a proportion with every Man's Eſtate.* 3dly, *A reducing of the Intereſt which the King pays, from Ten to Eight in the* Hundred, *with which the Bankers may very well be*

con-

contented, and muſt be, I ſuppoſe, if the King pleaſes, and finds a Courſe to make them ſee their Security cannot fail them: for Two per Cent. *Gain is, of all reaſon, enough for them, where the Security they receive is as good as what they give; as it is in this caſe. For the King's Security to the Banker is, in effect, the Banker's Security to his private Creditors; and whenever one fails, the other muſt. Now the Bankers pay but ſix* per Cent. *at moſt for Inland Mony, and leſs for ſome: and I have reaſon to doubt, a very great Trade is driven with them from* Holland, *by* Dutch *Merchants, who turn their Mony through their Hands, encourag'd by the great Intereſt they gain there, in lieu of ſo ſmall here; ſo that the States have lately refus'd to take the value of Twenty Thouſand Pounds* Sterling *of the Duke of* Luxemburgh's *Mony, at Two and a Half* per Cent. *and Three is the utmoſt that any Man makes. And if the King, by granting good Security, punctual Payments, and the Reputation of good Order in his Revenue, were gotten into Credit; I do not ſee why he might not, upon occaſion, take up what he pleas'd at Six* per Cent, *as well as the States do here at Two and a Half.* 4thly, *To enable the King, upon any Occaſion, to give better Security, I know nothing would do ſo much, as if the Parliament could be diſpos'd to ſettle the* Cuſtoms *upon him for one Year after his Death, as they are already for his Life; but that being an uncertain Term, Mony will not readily, or without exaction of Intereſt, be lent upon that which may fail next Day: And yet I conceive it to be the largeſt part of the Revenue, and in all other Points the moſt certain.* 5thly, *If any thing were ſet on foot in Parliament, towards an Act of* Reſumption of Grants *of Crown-Lands, from a certain Time, Uſe might at leaſt be made of it, towards drawing ſuch* Grantees *to a voluntary Compoſition, of holding their Grants at the Rent of a fourth or fifth part of the real Value to the Crown, in conſideration of having ſuch* Grants *confirm'd*

firm'd by Act of Parliament, or the King's Engagement, to conſent to nothing to their Prejudice, after their Conſent to ſuch a Rent and Tenure. 6thly, *A View may be made, at leaſt, of what has been gained by any* Grants *from his Majeſty, above what were really his Majeſty's Intentions to grant: As where the King intended to give* 500 l. *a Year, and perhaps* 7 *or* 800, *or* 1000 l. *is made of it: And the ſame of Sums of Mony, out of certain Benefits granted, towards the raiſing them: And what is found to be beyond the Intention of the King's Grant, to be repaid. Many ſmaller Particulars might perhaps be thought of: all which, with what has been mention'd, will be made valuable by a good Order in the Management, and a ſtanch Hand in Grants hereafter, till the King be as much before-hand, as he is behind-hand now.* I have tranſcrib'd ſo much of this Letter, becauſe it is, of all others, a noble Monument of Sir *William Temple's* deep Knowledg, both of foreign and domeſtick Affairs; and contains ſuch wiſe Maxims, particularly, in relation to the Firſt, as may be propos'd for a fix'd Standard of *Britiſh* Politicks. But, it ſeems the Court of *England* was by this time returning apace into *French* Meaſures, which were ever, and always will be fatal to this Nation.

To proceed: The Baron *D'Iſola* being come to the *Hague* on the 17th of *January* 1669, N. S. (to take care of the Concerns of the Empire) Sir *William Temple* was, the next Day, in Conference with him upon the Subject of his Journey, which he profeſs'd to be a Deſire of advancing the Treaty of *Guaranty*. The two Themes * he diſcours'd upon, were, firſt, to make it evident that *France* would open the War again in the Spring, and within ſix Weeks attack either *Burgundy* or *Luxemburgh*; and on the other ſide, that the Coun- 69

* *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 58. & ſeq.

ſels of *Spain*, as they were now compos'd, if they ſaw not a ſolid and firm Aſſiſtance from their Neighbours, would fall into the eaſieſt way of ending that matter, by giving up *Flanders* upon the beſt Terms they could. He added, 'That they were 'as a ſick Man, that either would not or could not 'help themſelves, and were ſo to be dealt with 'by thoſe that were ſo deeply concern'd in their 'Loſs, as the *States* in particular ſeem'd to be: 'And that after the diſarming of the Duke of '*Lorrain*, which *France* had now reſolv'd, and the 'ſeizing of *Burgundy*, which would be their next 'Work; it would be impoſſible to maintain a War 'in what remain'd of *Flanders*, when they could 'do it no longer by Diverſion, after theſe two 'Inlets into *France* were ſtop'd up.' From this he fell into the Buſineſs of the *Swediſh* Subſidies; and complain'd of the Hardſhips put upon *Spain*, who, he ſaid, had leſs Reaſon to pay for the late Peace than *France*; ſince the *Guaranty* offer'd would be equal to both, and the Gain of the War had been all on the *French* ſide. That for his part, he could truſt little in any Treaty, where the Obligations were not reciprocal: and when the *Guaranty* was given, he did not know whether the *Dutch* would not be ſtill apt to ſacrifice any new Conqueſts *France* ſhould make, to any unreaſonable Peace, provided the Danger grew not nearer them: And he had the more reaſon to believe it, by a Reſolution he was aſſur'd of among the States of *Holland*, to treat with *France* about diverting their Attempts upon *Flanders*, in caſe of the King of *Spain*'s Death, and leaving all the reſt of that Monarchy open to his Pretenſions: And, in the concluſion, urg'd the neceſſity of an Offenſive and Defenſive League, or *Quadruple* Alliance, into which the Emperor and Empire would readily enter. Sir *William Temple*, who had already made the ſame Overture to the

Engliſh Court, but had not found them inclin'd to purſue that Counſel, told the Baron *D'Iſola*, 'That 'the friendlieſt Office he could do him at his Ar- 'rival, was to tell him, what Men, and what Re- 'ſolutions he would find at the *Hague*, to the end 'he might not loſe his Steps, by their being, at 'firſt, ill directed. That, for their own Intereſt 'in the Preſervation of *Flanders*, they thought they 'underſtood it as well as any other of their Neigh- 'bours; and needed no new Lights in that Pro- 'ſpect, nor new Motions to engage in its Defence, 'if they might hope to ſucceed. That this de- 'pended upon *Spain*'s good Conduct and Proviſions 'in *Flanders*, and upon their ſatisfying *Sweden*. 'That without *Sweden*'s Engagement, *Holland* could 'do nothing conſiderable in their Defence, lying 'open to the *French* on the one ſide, and the Biſhop 'of *Munſter* on the other; and without *Holland* 'he might aſſure himſelf the King (of *England*) 'would never intereſt himſelf in their Quarrel, but 'ſeek his Meaſures ſome way elſe: ſo that the 'Strength of their whole Aſſiſtance depended upon 'the engaging of *Sweden*, and that upon Payment 'of the Subſidies. That he (Sir *William*) would 'tell him freely, he believ'd *Holland* might be in- 'duc'd to give a general *Guaranty*, according to 'the Article of the Treaty of *Aix*; and that if his 'Majeſty and *Sweden* would join with them in it, he 'thought it was the cheapeſt Bargain that ever any 'Crown had made. That he believ'd a Guaranty 'without reciprocal Engagements, more to the 'Advantage of *Spain*, and leſs to that of the Allies, 'than a *Defenſive League* which they ſo much de- 'ſired: but yet, the Conjuncture was ſuch, and the 'Regards that entred into it, as he could aſſure 'him, he would fail in the Purſuit of the laſt; and 'he believ'd, might ſucceed if he could content 'himſelf with the other. That if nothing elſe

'were in the way, there was not time enough for 'it, and therefore he would adviſe him to loſe none 'about it. That, for what ſhould happen after 'the King of *Spain*'s Death, he was confident nei-'ther the King of *England*, nor the States would 'enter into it; but leave thoſe Conſiderations to 'the Seaſon, in which they ſhould ariſe. That if '*Spain* was reſolv'd to deſtroy themſelves, *that* was 'a thing beyond all our Prevention and Remedy; 'and ſo only to be bemoan'd, and no more to be 'thought on: but if they would be preſerv'd, they 'knew the Price, which was the *Swediſh* Subſidies, 'and could beſt tell, whether it were worth it or 'no.' This, Sir *William Temple* thought, was the beſt way of dealing with a Perſon, *who* (as he afterwards acquainted * the Earl of *Arlington*) *came with Hopes of effecting much by his Eloquence and great Parts, and by making others ſee more of their own Intereſts, than they were willing to do:* And beſides, he thought it fitteſt for a Buſineſs, which it was neceſſary to bring to ſome ſhort Iſſue. Nor did the Baron ſeem to reſent it, but ſaid; *Well, if you are certain the* Dutch *will not be brought to a League with us, we muſt think of what we can have, and not what we cannot:* adding, that what remain'd to be done, was to draw up the Form of a Guaranty, and ſend it to the *Conſtable* of *Caſtile*; and let him know, that upon Satisfaction of the *Swediſh* Subſidies that ſhould be ready for him, and without it neither *England* nor *Holland* had more to ſay. Sir *William* told him, *He thought he was in the right way; hop'd he would ſucceed in it; and aſſur'd him of the Endeavours of* England *and* Holland *to draw* Sweden *into the ſame Meaſures, and perſuade them, if need were, to ſome little Eaſe in the Terms of Payment.* The Baron ask'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, in caſe

* Ubi ſupra.

the

the Subſidies were not paid, and the *Guaranty* given, and *France* ſhould next *March* attack *Burgundy* and *Luxemburgh*, what his Excellency thought *England* and *Holland* would do? To which Sir *William* return'd a ſhort Anſwer, That *he never thought the King and his Allies, would do upon all Occaſions, what they had engag'd.* The Baron would have had Sir *William Temple* join with him, in drawing up an Inſtrument of *Guaranty*; but Sir *William*, who had a mind to excuſe himſelf, at leaſt till he had receiv'd new Inſtructions, adviſ'd him to propoſe it to Monſieur *De Wit*, with whom he had an Hour aſſign'd upon their parting. In the next Interview Sir *William* had with the Baron, the latter aſſur'd him, there were Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns ready for the Payment of the *Swediſh* Subſidies: Of which Sir *William* having inform'd the Earl of *Arlington*, his Lordſhip wrote him what follows.

I *Am glad* * *to ſee, that at your firſt Entrance with Monſieur* le Baron D'Iſola, *you have worried him out of the Viſion he carried thither, to perſuade the* States *and you to a* Quadruple Alliance; *or, as they have chriſten'd it in* Spain, *an Offenſive and Defenſive League with us. The Teſtimony the World has juſtly given of his Wit, makes him think it ſufficient to prevail in any Subject: But your laſt ſhews him come to ſome Reaſon, and that there are* 200000 *Crowns already in hand for the ſatisfaction of the* Swede. *I hope a few Days will make him confeſs all. Before this, I aſſure my ſelf you have his Majeſty's Inſtructions upon this Subject; and the Satisfaction of ſeeing, that you knew our Mind before we told it to you; which I obſerv'd to his Majeſty, and his Miniſters, much to your Advan-*

* *Sir* William Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 326. *N. B. This is not to be found among the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters.*

tage.

tage. I have alſo this * *Day, in the Preſence of Mr. Secretary* Trevor, *communicated to ſome of the* Eaſt-India *Company, the Paper given you by the* States *upon their Affairs, with the Amendment Monſieur* De Wit *had ſent to* Amſterdam *to make it more compleat. They ſeem at firſt View to believe it comes up to their Deſires in ſubſtance; but have deſired it, to ſee whether it be rightly worded, with a Promiſe to return it to you again by the next Poſt, if by that time we can agree what Form to give it.——As to what concerns us both, I have little to ſay; I mean, I am this Evening too much off the Hooks to reply ſo obligingly to you, as you have ſpoken to me upon the Probability of my devolving my Correſpondence with you to Sir* John Trevor. *I cannot but tell you what you know already, that you are under his Diſtrict, and muſt therefore expect from him all the formal Diſpatches; but ſhall never be eas'd of my particular ones, till you give me Cauſe; which I know you will never do, to love and value you leſs. Beſides,* utrumque noſtrum incredibili modo conſentit Aſtrum: *And I am reſolv'd never to leave you, till I have made you able to make your own Fortunes; for which you have Credit enough already, if you had alſo Place for it: And, believe me, without Flattery, you have enough of the former to deſerve* Envy, *which you muſt learn betimes to live with.——For my ſelf, believe it, there's no Man living loves and values you more, nor can be with more Truth, your moſt affectionate and moſt humble Servant,* ARLINGTON.

But it ſeems theſe were only Court-Compliments, for the Earl of *Arlington* did either by this time, or ſoon after, purſue different Counſels from thoſe he knew were agreeable to Sir *William Temple*'s Thoughts and Judgment; as appears by the follow-

* January 19. 166⅔, O. S.

ing

ing Letter of * Sir *William* to the Lord-Keeper, dated *April* 2. 1669, N. S.

MY LORD,

'UPON a late Converſation with Monſieur *De Wit*, tho I had ſome reaſon to be ſurpriz'd, yet I think I had none to take any notice of it; but am very ſure I can have no reaſon for doing it to any other Perſon but your Lordſhip, of whoſe Friendſhip I have had ſo many Teſtimonies, and with whom I have liv'd in ſo much Confidence ever ſince our firſt Acquaintance. The preſent Subject is ſo *delicate*, that I can hardly tell how to touch it my ſelf, or to truſt it in any other Hands but your Lordſhip's, who will better judg whether any Uſe may be made of it, and I am ſure will make no ill one. Nor do I expect there can be other, than to gain ſome light in a Matter wherein I am wholly ignorant; and perhaps your Lordſhip may not have been curious enough to obſerve ſo near; and which 'tis yet very neceſſary for us both, to be as well inform'd as we can.

read this Letter.

'Monſieur *De Wit* came to me, as he ſaid, upon a particular Viſit, and as a Friend, not a Miniſter: but the Occaſion of it, at preſent, he would confeſs, was to acquaint me with a Converſation he had lately with Monſieur *Puffendorf*, a *Swediſh* Agent, who paſs'd this way from *Paris*, to his own Country. That he had been ſome time at the *French* Court ſince our Meaſures taken by the *Triple-Alliance*, and the Negotiations ſet on foot with the *Spaniards* in conſequence of them. That the Miniſters in *France* had taken much pains to perſuade him, that *Sweden* would find their Account very ill in purſuing thoſe Meaſures. That *Spain*

* *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 64. & ſeq.

'would

'would fail them, in what was pretended from 'them; and that *Holland* alone would not be a- 'ble to ſupport them, or the Meaſures they had 'raſhly taken. And to make this good, the Mini- 'ſters there had at length told him (but as a *Se- 'cret only, for the Service and Information of the Court 'of* Sweden) that *England* would certainly fail 'them; and was already chang'd in the Courſe of 'all thoſe Counſels they had taken with *Holland* and '*Sweden*, tho they did not think fit to let any 'thing of it appear; and the Secret was yet in 'very few hands, either in the *French* or the *Eng- 'liſh* Court. That when this Agent ſeem'd incre- 'dulous of all this Story, and to ſuſpect that it 'was *Artificial*, and only intended to give an Um- 'brage or falſe Light to the Court of *Sweden*, and 'thereby help them to make the firſt falſe Step; 'Monſieur *Turenne*, at laſt, ſhew'd him a Letter 'from Monſieur *Colbert* their Ambaſſador (in *Eng- 'land)* wherein he gave an Account of the happy 'Succeſſes he had met with in his Negotiations at 'our Court; of the good Diſpoſitions there, and 'eſpecially thoſe of ſome of our chief Miniſters: 'upon which he added theſe words, * ET JE 'LEUR AY ENFIN FAIT SENTIR TOUTE 'L'ETENDUE DE LA LIBERALITE DE SA 'MAJESTE.

'Here Monſieur *De Wit* ſtop'd, as if he had no 'more to ſay, and with a very equal Countenance; 'tho I found he had obſerv'd mine very narrowly 'all the while he was talking, as well as when he 'ended. For my part, tho I thought the Story 'and the Circumſtances very odd, and knew not 'what to make of it; yet, I believe, I *look'd In- 'nocent*, and thereby *as unconcern'd as he did.* I told

* That is, *And I have at laſt made them ſenſible of the whole Extent of his Majeſty's Liberality.*

'him,

'him, I had reaſon to be ſurpriz'd at what he had 'ſaid; but did not know, whether we had either 'of us any, to put much Weight, or draw any 'great Conſequence from all this Story. That there 'might be Artifice in it on ſeveral hands: That 'ſome of thoſe it had paſs'd thro might deceive, 'and others be deceiv'd: That there might be 'Miſtake in Men's Apprehenſions, in what paſs'd 'in Talk, and the Relations too: That Monſieur '*Colbert* might ſay a great deal to value his Ser-'vices to his Court, and more than he thought 'himſelf: That the *Swediſh* Agent might be made 'partial in *France* to their Intereſts, and wiſh his 'Crown ſtill in them, as moſt beneficial to the 'Miniſters there, that were ſo engag'd: That it 'was at leaſt artificial in the *French* Court, to em-'ploy Monſieur *Turenne* to give this notice to the '*Swediſh* Agent, and ſhew him Monſieur *Colbert*'s 'Letter, which had been more proper for a Secre-'tary of State; but that it was likely Monſieur '*Turenne*'s ſhewing it, and believing it, would have 'more Credit and more Effect in the Court of '*Sweden*. That farther than this, I had no-'thing to ſay upon it, beſides proteſting to him 'upon my *Honour and Truth*, that I knew nothing 'of it; nor had I reaſon, by any thing I heard 'from *England*, to ſuſpect any more than I knew. 'That I had told him, upon the Negotiation of our 'laſt Alliance, and his Suſpicions of our *Inconſtancy* 'in *England*, what I truly thought of the Diſpoſi-'tions and Intentions, both of his Majeſty and his 'Miniſters. That I knew, and all Men confeſs'd, 'their Intereſts were ſo deep in it, as well as the 'Humour of the whole Kingdom, that it was hard 'to think I could be deceiv'd. That, however, *I* '*could anſwer for no Man but my ſelf*; and that I 'would, *that if ever theſe Meaſures were broken, it* '*ſhould not be by me*; *nor would I ever have any part*

'*in*

'*in deſtroying what I had the Honour of Building, ſo* '*much for the Safety,* as I conceiv'd, *of both our Nati-* '*ons, and the reſt of* Chriſtendom; and with ſo much 'Glory and Applauſe to his Majeſty's Counſels, up- 'on that Occaſion. That I was ſtill of the ſame 'Mind, and had no more to ſay.

'Monſieur *De Wit* ſmil'd, and ſaid, what he had 'told me was but as a Friend, and in Converſa- 'tion; and left me to make what uſe I pleas'd of 'it, or none, if I thought fit, without drawing it 'into further Conſequence. That he had been 'very *ſuſpicious*, when he firſt enter'd into the Mi- 'niſtry, but had been ſo often deceiv'd by it, that 'he had cur'd himſelf of that Quality. That he 'knew very well, it had been ſaid among ſome fo- 'reign Miniſters here, ſome Months ſince, *Qu'il* '*faut avouer qu'il y a eu pour neuf mois du plus grand* '*Miniſtere du Monde en* Angleterre *; as if they 'believ'd ſome Change had befallen our Counſels 'before the laſt Year ended. That for his part, 'who went to the ſubſtantial as near as he could, 'and the plaineſt way, he had made but one Reflec- 'tion, and kept that as much as he could to him- 'ſelf: which was, *That after my Embaſſy hither had* '*been reſolv'd in* England, *to ſupport and improve* '*the Ends of our laſt Alliances, and to engage the* '*Emperor and chief Princes of the Empire, as well as* 'Spain, *in the Support of them; he could not but* '*wonder to find Me engag'd, of late, by my Orders* '*from Court, ſo warmly in a* Chicane, *about ſuch a* '*Trifle, as that of* Surinam; *and in ſo many eager* '*Diſputes about the Pretenſions of our* Eaſt-India *Com-* '*pany, which were fitter for Merchants than for Mi-* '*niſters: and look'd as if we had them more at heart,* '*than the purſuit of thoſe publick Intereſts that were*

* *That is, That it muſt be confeſs'd, there has been for nine Months the greateſt Miniſtry in the World in* England.

'*thought*

'*thought ſo neceſſary for* Chriſtendom *at my firſt* '*coming over.* But after all, for his part, he would 'go on conſtantly upon the foot of our laſt Alliance, 'as the beſt ground of our common Safety; and 'believ'd the States would do ſo too, till his Ma'jeſty or his Miniſters ſhould let them plainly ſee 'he had chang'd his Meaſures. And with this, 'riſing up, he ſeem'd not to expect any Anſwer, 'but to go away in very good Humour. And 'I was not very deſirous to draw our Diſcourſe 'into more length; and ſo it ended.'

Whatever Streſs the Lord-Keeper and Sir *William Temple* laid upon Monſieur *De Wit*'s Information, the Event ſhew'd it to be but too well grounded. However, the Earl of *Arlington* either diſſembled, or was not yet privy to the Meaſures the Court of *England* was at this time concerting with *France*. For in a Letter * he wrote (on the 9th of *July* 1669, O. S.) to Sir *William Temple*, after having told him, *He could not give himſelf any hopes of ſeeing the Buſineſs of the* Eaſt-India *Company well concluded, the Company profeſſing they had better be left as they were, with their Pretenſions fair and entire, than have them blaſted for ever with a bad Concluſion:* He added, 'In the mean time I have ſome Satisfaction 'in ſeeing your Letters revive our Hopes of the 'Arrival of the *Spaniſh* Mony, for the Satisfaction 'of the *Swedes*. *Spain* has fairly ventur'd the loſs 'of the Fruit of our *Triple-Alliance*, and they ſeem 'thereby to think (if at leaſt they do think at all) 'that we are more concern'd in the Support of it 'than they: And they are not much in the wrong 'therein, for which reaſon, as ſoon as *Sweden* is 'ready for it, by having touch'd their preſent 'Mony, and declar'd themſelves ſecure of their fu-

* *See the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 408.

'ture Payments, *You will find us as ready as we* 'ever profeſs'd to be, *to enter into the Concert of Forces* 'to ſupport our common *Alliance*; of the *Materials for* 'which, *I ſuppoſe, you have thought, tho yet you ſay* 'nothing of them.' In anſwer to this, Sir *William Temple* wrote the following Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*.

My Lord, *

'I Am to acknowledg your Lordſhip's of *July* the 'ninth, and have but too much reaſon to agree 'with you in deſpairing to ſee this matter of the '*Marine Article* brought to any fair Concluſion, 'about which I writ at large by the laſt Poſt, to 'Sir *John Trevor*; and will tell your Lordſhip more 'in private, that I very much fear our *Eaſt-India* 'Merchants have ſome further meaning in it than 'we yet underſtand, and than they deſire we ſhould. 'For having had this whole Buſineſs run through 'my Head with more Thought and Application 'than ever any other did before; I could not but 'obſerve many ſeveral Inequalities in their Proceed-'ings, and make ſome Reflections upon them.

'As, Firſt, that it began immediately upon the 'finiſhing our Alliances with the *Dutch*; in which 'none could detract in the leaſt from the Glory 'abroad, and popular Applauſe at home, of the 'King's Counſels, but by declaiming againſt this '*Marine Treaty*; tho at firſt it was only upon the 'Inequality of the *Paſſports*. When that Point was 'eaſily accorded by Monſieur *De Wit*, our Mer-'chants added another, about the Definition of a '*beſieged Place*, which was all their Exceptions a-'gainſt the Treaty it ſelf, could amount to. But 'when there were ſome Hopes given by Monſieur

* *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 72. *dated* July 26. N. S.

'*De*

'*De Wit*, in his Letters to me, that this likewiſe 'might be ſurmounted; they added ſeveral other 'Articles untouch'd in the *Marine Treaty*. And 'when they ſaw all were like to be gain'd here, 'but that one of a Free Trade with People not in 'ſubjection, and of paſſing Forts (which Sir *George* '*Downing* had found here was an invincible Point) 'they then declar'd, that without this, all the reſt 'were worth nothing: and upon this ſaid, they 'have left our Treaty a-ground now for about eight 'Months paſt. When we begun firſt to ſtruggle 'out of it, they ſaid, They only aim'd at prevent-'ing ſome Innovations, which had been of late 'Years practis'd by the *Dutch*, againſt the ancient 'Uſages in thoſe Parts, and many others of the 'ſame kind, which they had reaſon to fear: Where-'upon the *Dutch* deſir'd the particular Inſtances 'of what they had either felt, or thought they 'had occaſion to fear; that ſo they might redreſs 'us, in particular, and underſtand us, in general. 'Our Merchants inſtanc'd in *Cochin* and *Cananor*; 'and, I think, one other Place, which Monſieur '*De Wit* ſaid, was not at all to the caſe, but to 'another, provided for, by the defining of a *be-'ſieged Place*: ſo that I was forc'd by them here, 'to preſs ſtill for Inſtances by ſeveral Letters, till 'the Merchants, at laſt, ſent a long angry Paper, 'with very many Recapitulations of things paſt; 'and which the *Dutch* ſaid, had been debated and 'agreed in former Treaties; and therefore ſtill de-'ſir'd to know, which of the Particulars named 'we thought applicable to the preſent Queſtion. 'Upon which I receiv'd Anſwer, *That the Practice 'of the* Dutch, *againſt which they deſir'd to provide, 'was but beginning: That they could not, or that it 'was to to purpoſe to give particular Inſtances, their 'Apprehenſions being general, of what the* Dutch *in-'tended to impoſe upon us; and that, in ſhort, what

'we

'*we desir'd was for Prevention, rather than Remedy*; '*which*, they said, *made it much harder in the* Dutch '*to deny us.*

'After this, Monsieur *De Wit* and I concerted an 'Article between us, to propose to our Principals, 'on either side; and which, I confess, I thought 'comprehended our meaning, as I understood it by 'the Letters I receiv'd from your Lordship, and 'the King's other Ministers: which tho it was im-'mediately refus'd at *Amsterdam*, as liable to the 'Interpretation they so much fear'd, yet was like-'wise rejected by our Merchants too, and another 'sent over, yet stronger than the first, in those 'Parts, wherein the *Dutch* were most sensible; 'tho your Lordship seem'd to think, the Article 'I had transmitted, would reach our Aim, till you 'propos'd it to them. Upon the new Debates we 'engag'd in, arrives the News of what we had suf-'fer'd at *Macassar*; which our Merchants made to 'be a formidable Instance in the Business depend-'ing; and of far more Consequence than all they 'apprehended by *Dutch* Forts and Passes; and 'therefore immediately presented the King with 'their Demand of *Restitution*, together with some 'other Particulars which we were fain to disown 'immediately, as against an express Article of 'the Treaty of *Breda*. And I had the Blame of 'proposing all their Demands to the *Dutch*, tho 'the Paper of them was sent to me without any 'distinction.

'So soon as the Point of *Macassar* was yielded 'us, which I thought would prove the most dif-'ficult of any, as of most Importance, and was, 'I am sure, for a great while the most contest-'ed; and after the Project of a general Article 'was gain'd from the *Dutch* (against all their for-'mer Resolutions) which was grounded upon these 'two Points, That we desire no Innovations, and

'will

'will make no particular Inſtances or Complaints, 'in which they have ever offer'd us Redreſs: Our 'Merchants, ſeeing the matter draw near a fair 'Iſſue, now ſeem reſolv'd to end all with theſe two 'Anſwers; *That their Reſtitution to* Macaſſar (as Sir *John Trevor* writes) *will be too dear bought, by 'ſuch an Article as ſhall confirm upon us all the Injuries we have complain'd of, by Forts, and Paſſes, and 'Treaties too.* Whereas the Article, as 'tis propos'd by the *Dutch* (however defective) does not 'extend to any Treaties to come, but only to the 'paſt: Nor do the *Dutch* deſire to ſell us *Macaſſar* 'at the Price of any ſuch Article; but had much 'rather reſtore it to us upon concluding the Treaty, 'without any ſuch Article at all: Nor do I know 'yet of the Injuries, in particular, we have already 'complain'd of, either by Forts, Paſſes, or Trea'ties, beſides this of *Macaſſar*; but contrary, have 'always been told, what we deſir'd was rather for '*Prevention* than *Remedy*. But next they ſay (as 'your Lordſhip tells me) *they had rather be left as 'they are, with their Pretenſions fair and entire, than 'have them blaſted for ever with a bad Concluſion*: 'Whereas no Concluſion they now make upon 'what we have gain'd, and the Redreſs of what 'they complain'd of in the *Marine Treaty* (tho 'without this conteſted Article) but will leave 'them and their Pretenſions in the ſame Condition 'they were before. The ſame Liberty ſtill re'maining upon the laſt Article of the *Marine Treaty*, 'to appoint Commiſſioners, and alter or add any 'thing, when both Parties ſhall agree; and will be 'but like taking ſo much by Advance, upon ac'count of a greater Debt. So that I am apt to con'clude from all theſe Obſervations, That *they who 'influence our Merchants in this Proſecution, either 'have no meaning this Treaty ſhould end fairly, and 'ſo they put it obſtinately upon that ſingle Point, and*

'*in*

'*in that Form which they know will never be granted*; 'or elſe, *they aim at gaining Occaſion of raiſing new* 'Diſputes *with the* Dutch, *whenever they find a Con-* 'junƈture *for it*; there ſeeming ſome Reaſon for the 'Dutch Opinion, that agreeing upon an Article as 'ours propoſe it, we may fall into new Conteſts 'upon the Extent and Interpretation of it, when- 'ever we pleaſe. If this laſt end be in the bot- 'tom of this Buſineſs, and it be taken up or coun- 'tenanc'd by his Majeſty or his Miniſters upon 'Reaſon of State, and we make our Proviſions, and 'take all our Meaſures accordingly; for ought I 'know it is a wiſe, and may prove an honourable 'Counſel in time; at leaſt, *if the preſent State of* 'Affairs *in Chriſtendom ſhould change by any ſudden* 'or *unexpected Revolution*. But if our Merchants, 'or thoſe who influence them in this matter, 'mean no ſuch thing as a Concluſion of the Treaty; 'but only by the depending of ſuch Diſputes, to 'leave an *Unkindneſs* and *Weakneſs* in our Alliance, 'which may in time ſhake the Foundations of it, 'and make way for *new Meaſures* on one ſide or 'other, which will in time prove deſtructive to 'both: I cannot but interpret this as *the Effect of* 'their *Diſtaſte or Envy, at the King's preſent Mini-* 'ſtry, *and the Courſe of his Counſels*, which have not 'gain'd greater Honour abroad, nor perhaps Safety 'and good Will at home, by any thing, than by 'our late Alliances, ſo renown'd here, and thereby 'the STOP we have *given to the Progreſs of the* 'FRENCH GREATNESS. And therefore it muſt 'come from the Influence of ſome, who would be 'glad to ſee, not only our ALLIANCE SHAKEN 'or CHANGED ABROAD, but OUR MINISTRY 'at home too; which I ſhall be ſorry to ſee, till 'the King can find better Hands for himſelf and 'the Kingdom to place it in: And whenever that 'happens, as much as I am your Lordſhip's Ser-

'vant,

'vant, I ſhall be very well contented, and I dare 'ſay you will too. If your Lordſhip ſhould imagine 'any particular Envy or Pique at me or my Em-'ployment here, may have contributed to the Dif-'ficulties which have ſucceeded in this Buſineſs; 'and that our Merchants, or thoſe that influence 'them, believe it would thrive better in any other 'hand: I will beg of you not to be ſway'd by 'Conſiderations of Kindneſs to me in a matter of 'publick Concernment; nor to fear, that when-'ever this Employment falls, you ſhall be troubled 'with me at home, as great Miniſters uſe to be 'with Men out of Office. For while *the King's 'Buſineſs goes well, 'tis not two Straws matter whether 'ſuch a Body as I have any ſhare in it or no* *. And 'there's an end of all the Reflections I have had 'upon the moſt troubleſome and untoward Buſi-'neſs that, I thank God, I ever had in my Life, 'or I hope ever ſhall have again; and perhaps I 'am miſtaken in them all. However, if your 'Lordſhip can pardon this, you ſhall be ſure not 'to be troubled in haſte with any more of it from, '*My Lord, Your*, &c.

However, not many Days † after, Sir *William Temple* could not forbear mentioning, in a Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, *His Fear either of the* Spaniſh *King's Death, or of* Spain *falling into ſome Agreement or other with* France, *for the Exchange of* Flanders, *by ſeeing ſo great a War ſtill entail'd upon it; and their Neighbours unwilling to ſhare it ſo far in their Dangers, as perhaps it were the Intereſt of* England *and* Holland *to do.* 'I am ſure, added Sir

* *A noble Inſtance this of* Publick Spirit! *the Reverſe of which we have ſeen practiſed by* profligate Dablers in Politicks, *who would paſs for* Patriots; *while they ſacrifice the Publick Good, either to their private Piques or Intereſt.*

† Aug. 7. N. S. *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 81.

'*William*, in the preſent Poſture of their Monarchy, if I were of their Counſel, I ſhould be of Advice to do it whenever *France* ſhould be content upon it to quit all Pretence to the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Dominions. And perhaps 'twere wiſe for the King of *France* to get *Flanders* by that or any other quiet Condition: for within two Years after he were well poſſeſs'd of that little Spot of Ground, I doubt no Prince or State in Chriſtendom would pretend to diſpute any more with him then, than the *Spaniards* do now. But theſe are Events to be conſider'd by Men in greater Spheres than I am, and perhaps deſerve to be a little more thought on than they are.' In the ſame Letter Sir *William* took notice of a Viſit he had exchang'd with the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, with whom he had been directed to live in good Correſpondence: and upon occaſion of the Lord *Culpeper*'s paſſing that way ſome Days before, Sir *William* deſir'd the Earl of *Arlington* to let him know, how he was to treat any *Engliſh* Lord, as to the *Hand* and *Door* in his own Houſe: for tho he was order'd to follow the *French* Example, as to all publick Miniſters, yet there was nothing ſpecify'd, as to other Perſons. Therefore he thought it Prudence to have ſomething from his Majeſty's poſitive Commands to beat him out, as the *French* Ambaſſadors had; and, as he thought, the caſe deſerv'd: 'Since he was told, the Innovation began in Monſieur *Cominges*'s time in *England*; that before the Orders he receiv'd in it, he gave the Hand to all Gentlemen of Quality in *England*, and to all Perſons of great Quality or Families, tho of his own Nation; and that my Lord *St. Albans* ever gave it to all *Engliſh* Lords, while he was Ambaſſador at *Paris*: tho it ſeems my Lord *Hollis* chang'd it, upon the *French* Ambaſſador's doing ſo in *England*.' This Particular ſhews how attentive

tive Sir *William Temple* was to the *Formal* and *Minute*, as well as to the Great and Important Parts of his Function. And as he was nicely exact and regular in the *Punctilio* towards others, ſo, on the other hand, he expected the ſame regard from them to himſelf; and, upon proper Occaſions, did not want Spirit to reſent and repel any Slights and Affronts that ſeem'd to be put on his Character. To this purpoſe we may take notice, that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, having made high Expoſtulations about the preſſing Inſtances of Sir *William*, to induce the *Spaniards* to make at leaſt the firſt Payment of the *Swediſh* Subſidies, before the ſigning of what was then call'd the * *Concert*; Sir *William* wrote to him a Letter † in *Spaniſh*, which in *Engliſh* runs thus:

My Lord,

'I Receiv'd your Excellency's Letter laſt Night, 'as I was making my Diſpatches for *England*, 'in which I immediately inclos'd it, that the King 'my Maſter may ſee in what this Affair has ended. 'For the Complaints your Excellency is pleas'd to 'make of me, as having hinder'd, inſtead of ad-'vancing an Agreement ſo much deſir'd; I ſhall 'not defend my ſelf with Words, if my Actions 'have not done it; nor think my ſelf oblig'd, 'whatever has paſs'd in this Affair, to give account 'of it to any body but the King my Maſter. I 'am not the firſt Miniſter, whoſe Services to *Spain* 'have had no Returns but of Reproach and In-'gratitude, which I ſhall not lay to heart, ſince 'our Part is only to obey. However, I cannot

* *By this was meant, an Agreement between the Parties concern'd in the* Triple Alliance, *for the Support of the* Guaranty *of the Peace of* Aix-la-Chapelle.

† *Dated* Auguſt 14. N. S.

'but think it had been more Prudence in the *Spa-*
'*niſh* Miniſters, to acknowledg all the King my
'Maſter has treated and done for eighteen Months
'paſt, in favour of that Crown, than to accuſe his
'Majeſty upon every Occaſion, either to have done
'nothing, or only what he found convenient to
'himſelf: ſince the true way of engaging a gene-
'rous Mind in new Obligations, is to be thankful
'for the old, and rather increaſe than leſſen what a
'King and a Friend has done, at leaſt with ſo much
'Deſire of ſucceeding well.

'Since your Excellency is pleas'd to give ſo wrong
'a Turn to what I writ with ſo good Intentions,
'I will ſay nothing to excuſe it, but ſtill repeat
'what I ſaid before; that to me it ſeems more rea-
'ſonable, that you ſhould preſs the *Swediſh* Miniſters
'upon this Agreement, if you think the time of
'the Second Subſidies not yet run out: becauſe
''tis plain, that the firſt Payment (by your own
'Act) was to be made upon the ſigning of the
'Ratifications of the *Guaranty*, without any other
'Condition: and there being three diſtinct Acts
'from the three Parties, your Excellency has very
'artificially made mention both of that of the
'*Guaranty*, and the other of *Concert*; whereas that
'of the *Guaranty* ought only to be given to *Spain*;
'and that of *Concert*, but communicated as an
'Agreement between the three Parties entred
'into the *Triple Alliance*. With all this, your Ex-
'cellency may ſee, that when I ſaid this, I told
'you at the ſame time, that there was no doubt,
'after having given the *Guaranty*, and that the
'*Swedes* had receiv'd their firſt Payment, the Agree-
'ment would be concerted too. And this I ſtill
'believe from the Intereſt the *Swedes* have in it,
'to ſecure the other Payments; and *Holland* yet
'more, either to preſerve the Peace, or in caſe a
'War ſhould happen, to ſecure a ſtrong and power-

'ful

'ful Defence from *Flanders*, which, next to their 'own Towns, is what they are neareſt concern'd 'in. I muſt repeat again what I ſaid of his Ma'jeſty, That if the *Swedes* and the *Dutch* can find 'the way of agreeing this Affair, it will never be 'laid to the King my Maſter's Charge, if they do 'not ſee a good end of it. But I have enter'd 'deep enough into the Thoughts of the *Swedes* 'upon this Point, to be abſolutely of Opinion, 'That they will never conſent to the Agreement, till 'they have receiv'd their firſt Payment. Monſieur '*Marechal* having only heard ſome Expreſſions of 'your Excellency's upon this Affair, came imme'diately to deſire I would go to you, and inform 'my ſelf of the Truth of it, and bring a poſitive 'Anſwer from you; ſwearing, that if this were 'your Reſolution, the *Swedes* could very well con'tent themſelves without the Mony; and that for 'his part, he was reſolv'd to leave the *Hague* to 'morrow: and about four or five Days ago Mon'ſieur *Appleboom* ſent his Secretary to tell me, he 'had heard ſomething to this purpoſe, of your Ex'cellency; and to complain of it. But if you can 'otherwiſe diſpoſe both the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, 'as to me it ſeems by your Letter you imagine, 'I ſhall extremely rejoice at your Succeſs, and ap'plaud your Diligence, tho you are ſo little pleas'd 'with mine. I cannot tell how I came to engage 'ſo far in a Language I know ſo imperfectly: if 'you underſtand me, 'tis all I deſire. God pre'ſerve your Excellency many Years; I kiſs your 'Excellency's Hands, and am your moſt humble 'Servant.

Not many Days after, * Sir *William Temple* tranſmitted a Draught of the *Concert* made at the *Hague*,

* Auguſt 27. N. S.

to

to the Earl of *Arlington*; who in Anſwer to this laſt, and other Letters, wrote to Sir *William* what follows *:

MY LORD,

'I Have receiv'd your Excellency's of the 27th N. S. with a Copy of a pretended *Concert* of Forces, ſuppos'd to be made heretofore at *London*; from whence it might be infer'd, we make a Difficulty to execute now, what we have heretofore ſtipulated. After having told you, that there were many Papers fram'd about that time by Monſieur *Meerman* ſometimes, and at other times by the Baron *D'Iſola*, which never took Effect, nor were ſigned, and conſequently are now improperly alledg'd: I may ſecurely aſſure you again, his Majeſty will make no difficulty of entring into a *Concert*, when requir'd by the Confederate Allies, or oblig'd by the Motives and Grounds of the *Guaranty*, tho *you know as well as any Man living, that his Majeſty always declar'd to the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador here, and by you to the Marquiſs* Caſtel-Rodrigo, *that he would never be at Charge by reaſon of the League, but ſo far as he ſhould be indemnify'd by the Mony of* Spain; which deſpairing hitherto to be ſecur'd in, you cannot forget, that the laſt Year I warn'd you thereof; and that before you accepted of any Project of a *Concert*, you would endeavour to ſend us word, whether it would be likely to oblige his Majeſty to any preſent Expence, which you know he is not in a ſtate of ſupporting: whereas the other Confederates have always their Forces ſubſiſting, and muſt keep them on foot, whether this Occaſion were or were not. And this only Exception therefore I have to the Expedient you offer in Mr.

* *This Letter is dated* Aug. 24. O. S. *See the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 412.

'Secre-

'Secretary *Trevor*'s Letter, that his Majeſty cannot 'properly promiſe, in a Letter to the Conſtable, the 'entring into a preſent *Concert* of Affairs, with-'out asking him, at the ſame time, Security for 'the Mony it will coſt his Majeſty, (the Pro-'miſes of *Spain* by Experience being become worth 'ſo little) which is all he, the Conſtable, can give 'us for the preſent. And if this be our Condi-'tion (as you will eaſily ſuppoſe it is) how ſhall 'we bring our ſelves to anſwer again to the *Swede*, 'the Payment of any more Mony from *Spain*, as 'is likewiſe propos'd to you? To ſpeak *freely to 'you in this matter*, I fear much, tho the Monies be 'now actually there, (viz. *Bruſſels*) the *Spaniards* 'will find twenty Excuſes for keeping it in their 'own hands, till they have ſome effectual Service 'for it; and becauſe they ſee how dear the League 'is like to coſt them, trying the Effect their pre-'ſent Negotiation with the Marquiſs *De Villars* at 'Madrid, upon a Treaty *De Convenience* (which I 'know they are actually in) will produce, before 'they will part with their Mony. Upon the whole 'matter, it is a hard Caſe that the Queſtion being 'upon the Defence of the Frontiers of *Holland*, 'they, the States, do not only lean ſo hard upon 'his Majeſty, as to make him either conſent to 'put himſelf into a preſent extraordinary Expence 'by this *Concert*, or to deny it; and by that means 'both weaken and diſcredit the League; but alſo 'deny him Satisfaction in things, *we think*, ſo rea-'ſonably inſiſted on by us: as that Point of the '*Eaſt-India* Company, and that other of *Surinam*. 'In the former, 'tis certain, Mr. Secretary *Trevor* 'and I have carry'd the Company as far as poſſi-'bly we can, as you will ſee by the Project of the 'Article lately ſent you; and in the latter, my 'Lord-Keeper and my Lord-Privy-Seal join'd with 'us, fram'd together the Subſtance of the Letter late-

'ly

'ly written to the States-General, after we had care-
'fully examin'd the Capitulation of *Surinam*: the
'Treaty of *Breda* directing the Reſtitution of it
'into the ſame State it was held the $\frac{1}{11}$ of *May*
'that Year; and, in a word, all other Papers
'concerning that Affair, wherein none of us found
'the leaſt ground to doubt of a Power left to the
'*Engliſh* to come away with their Effects, whenever
'they ſhould demand leave for it; which being
'now deny'd them, upon their own Inſtance, we
'conceived his Majeſty was in poſſeſſion of a Right
'to demand it for them; his Subjects Obedience in
'*Surinam* being but conditional, and not to be
'likened to that of the Inhabitants of the con-
'quer'd Towns in *Flanders*, or that of the *Dutch*
'in the *New Netherlands*. It is a hard thing to
'find any new Arguments in either of theſe Caſes,
'therefore I will not trouble you with a Repeti-
'tion of any more of the old ones; *only one thing*
'*now I will (preſuming upon the Friendſhip betwixt us)*
'*ſay to you: Nothing is more ordinary in the Mouths*
'*of Men here, than that your* Partiality *and* mine
'*for the* LEAGUE; *or—in plainer Language, for*
'Holland, *makes us eaſily follow all Monſieur* De Wit's
'*Dictaments; not only in that particular, but in the*
'*aforemention'd, and all others: and that the World will*
'*never believe otherwiſe, till they hear you have been*
'*at Cuffs with Monſieur* De Wit *there, and I with*
'*Monſieur* Boreel *here*. In a word, till you have
'made this Point of the *Concert* eaſy to the King's
'preſent Condition, and procur'd his Subjects ſome
'tolerable Satisfaction, in thoſe two principal
'Points of *Surinam* and the *Eaſt-Indies*; both our
'Reputations will be in ſome Danger, not only
'with the *Court*, but with the *Exchange* too.
'Therefore I pray beſtir your ſelf in our Vindica-
'tion. *I am*, &c.

From

From the Style of this Letter, Sir *William Temple* was confirm'd in the Truth of Monſieur *De Wit*'s Informations, and his own Suſpicion, That the Court of *England* began to alter their Meaſures, and lean towards the *French* Intereſt; of which Sir *William* gave a Hint to my Lord *Arlington* in theſe words: *I believe*, ſays he *, *your Lordſhip may hear Reports of Diſcontents growing, and Parties changing here: but, I doubt, it is not in Diſcourſe further than among thoſe that are in the Skirts of Buſineſs; which makes me hope there may be no more ground for all that is ſo laviſhly talk'd of here, and of the ſame kind among us in* England. *If it ſhould be otherwiſe, I am at leaſt glad to be ignorant of it; being of ſo much Diſreputation abroad to our Counſels: And all Perſons of Conſideration here are ſorry for what they hear of it, profeſſing to be as much concern'd in our Union as their own; and placing all their Hopes of taking any conſtant Meaſures with us, upon the Steddineſs of his Majeſty's late Counſels, and the Diſpoſitions of our preſent Miniſters*, before whoſe time Monſieur *De Wit* ſays, There was nothing but *Fluctuation* in the Counſels of *England*. The truth is, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the other gay and ſprightly Courtiers, who by their Wit and Humour, engroſs'd King *Charles*'s Favour, and were admitted as Partners in his Pleaſures; being dazled by the glittering Promiſes of *France*, made it their buſineſs to ridicule Sir *William Temple*'s grave Counſels and Political Schemes. How early the Earl of *Arlington* ſtruck in with them, does not clearly appear: but we may take notice, That not many Months after, the Lord-Keeper *Bridgman*, who ever had a juſt Value for Sir *William*'s conſummate Wiſdom; and, upon that ſcore, maintain'd a ſtrict Friendſhip with him; gave † him *a kind Hint, of*

* *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 109.

† *Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 283.

my Lord Arlington's not being the ſame to him which he had formerly been, and conſtantly ſince their firſt Acquaintance. But Sir *William*, who judg'd of others by himſelf, laid then no great ſtreſs on this Advice, and rather doubted ſome Miſtake in the Lord-Keeper's Obſervation, than any Change in the Earl of Arlington's Friendſhip and Diſpoſitions; tho he found his Style a little changed in what concern'd the Publick Affairs. It ſeems Sir *William Temple*, from the Uprightneſs and Sincerity of his own Nature, did not yet ſufficiently conſider the Precariouſneſs and Lubricity of Court-Friendſhips; nor reflect, that about two Years before, he had been adviſ'd by the Earl of *Arlington*, not to abound ſo much in Candor and Ingenuity *. And indeed Sir *William Temple* had by this time eſtabliſh'd ſo great a Reputation of Wiſdom and Integrity at the *Hague*, that the Ambaſſador of *Portugal* and the Penſionary *De Wit*, thought fit to refer to his Umpirage and final Determination, a Difference that had long been depending between *Portugal* and *Holland*; and which Sir *William* compos'd by a *Definitive Sentence*, that was readily ſubmitted to by both Parties. And it muſt be obſerv'd to his Honour, that in this Affair he acted not as Ambaſſador of *England*, but as a private † Perſon. As to the matters inſiſted on by the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, particularly the Buſineſs of *Surinam*, the States-General would not ‖ hear of it in point of Right: but the chief amongſt them declar'd their Opinion, That it was fit to give his Majeſty greater Teſtimonies of their Deference. As to the *Concert* or *Alliance* for a *Defenſive League*, that Buſineſs remain'd ſome time at a ſtand, Sir *William Temple* having no Inſtructions to make any

* See the Earl of Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 68.
† See Sir W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 97.
‖ Ubi ſupra, p. 108.

vigorous

vigorous Steps in it; and when he was preſs'd by the *Spaniſh*, *Swediſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters, to propoſe ſomething in it, he acted the part he was put upon the beſt he could, and *entertain'd them with Complaints of the* Spaniſh *ill Uſage towards* England *and* Holland, in relation to the Subſidies promis'd to *Sweden*. The Baron *D'Iſola* endeavour'd to induce him to enter the *Concert*, upon the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's promiſing an Indemnity from *Spain* for the 150000 Crowns inſiſted upon by the *Swedes*, to be ſecured to them from the King of *England*, according to the Project made in *London*: But Sir *William* took no hold of this inſinuation, and contented himſelf with telling the Baron, 'That he was at 'the end of his Line, and could proceed no fur-'ther: That his Majeſty had order'd him to give 'the Guaranty, in conjunction with the other Con-'federates, upon Payment of 200000 Crowns, ac-'cording to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's own Act in '*May* laſt: That he thought the *Spaniards* had no 'Right to preſs *England* and *Holland* upon the par-'ticular *Concert*, which yet he would be ready to 'conſider of, when the Confederates thought fit; 'and in the mean time, was ſincerely reſolv'd to 'perform the *Guaranty*, if there ſhould be occaſion.' Sir *William Temple* was, not long after, ſenſible, that his Conduct in all theſe matters, had fallen ſhort of the Approbation, at Court, it us'd to receive: And *that Mr.* Werden, who about the beginning of *December* 1669, N. S. arriv'd at the *Hague*, *was ſent over to him only* * *to diſparage it, or eſpy the Faults of it*; tho *he went back with the Opinion, that Sir* William had diſcharg'd his part with the utmoſt Zeal and Application. Sir *William* could not but take notice of this viſible Diſtruſt of his Conduct, and therefore he wrote to Mr. Se-

* *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 133.

cretary *Trevor* *, That *he could have wiſh'd Mr.* Werden *had brought his Majeſty's Inſtructions with him for a Reſerve, tho not to have been communicated till the laſt Minute of his Stay, and the Deſpair of all other Trials: For by that means,* added he, *we might have kept the Buſineſs entire; whereas now, tho it may recover ſome Life, yet I much doubt, whether it ever can the Strength and Health of its firſt Conſtitution. For beſides ſo great, and ſo many Jealouſies as are enter'd into on all ſides; I count Monſieur* Marechal's *(the* Swediſh *Miniſter) going away, a very ill Accident; and can yet make no gueſs how Monſieur* Appleboom *will acquit himſelf, whenever we ſhall come to the Payment of the Subſidies, tho Monſieur* Marechal *was ſo forward as to make it ſure: But Mr.* Werden *can tell you how different ſorts of Men they are; and, for ought I ſee, all Buſineſſes depend upon the Qualities of the Men that manage them; which (conſidering the ill Succeſs of this) I ſhall ſay, in Anſwer of your Compliment, That 'tis in very good Hands.——I gave you an Account in my laſt, of the bold Advance the* Dutch *had made to the* Conſtable, *of ſigning their part of the* Concert *alone, immediately upon the Payment of the* 200000 *Crowns. We expect every Day the Anſwer to this Propoſition: and finding one Clauſe of my Inſtructions to command me to ſuppreſs them, in caſe I find, either before or after their Arrival, that the Mony would be paid according to the Treaty of* May *laſt; I thought it agreeable to what I conceive of his Majeſty's Intentions, for me to take no notice of them, till I ſee what this Return from the* Conſtable *will produce: and in caſe it be follow'd by the Payment of the Mony, to expect his Majeſty's further Orders, before I proceed upon them. If the* Conſtable *ſtill inſiſt to have the* Concert *jointly ſign'd, I ſhall then conſult with the* Swediſh *and* Dutch *Miniſters, and endeavour to bring*

* December 10. N. S. ubi ſupra, p. 133.

it

it to an Iſſue, according to his Majeſty's Inſtructions; but ſo as not to proſtitute our Offer, till we have Aſſurance that no more Difficulties will be made by Spain, *nor any Changes deſir'd in that* Concert, *which has ſo long been fram'd, and in which the Miniſters here will not admit of any Alterations. — I ſuppoſe it is not his Majeſty's Intention I ſhould conſent to the* Concert, *but in Conjunction with the* Swede *as well as the* Dutch, *in caſe the firſt ſhould not be induc'd to it, or raiſe new Difficulties; and according to this Apprehenſion I ſhall proceed. In all which Points I am more diſtinct, that you may find whether I underſtand his Majeſty's meaning right, and may pleaſe accordingly to inform and direct me: For the Paces, as they are much more difficult, ſo they ought to be much more cautious in a Miniſter, when his Inſtructions are numerous and particular, as mine are grown in this Affair. And you may be very confident, when they are once given, they ſhall be punctually obſerv'd, to the beſt that I can underſtand them: And in that it ſelf, I thank God, I have not yet failed; and deſire nothing of my Maſter and my Friends, more than that I may be the firſt to hear of it, when I do.* Towards the Concluſion of this Letter, Sir *William* acquainted Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, That the *Dutch* Miniſters had been earneſt with his Excellency to propoſe to the King, to go the ſame or equal Pace with them, in *laying Impoſitions upon the* French *Commodities, which they thought would prove the greateſt Parſimony that either* England *or* Holland *could uſe; and be a* GREATER BLOW TO FRANCE THAN ARMIES COULD GIVE; *and that in caſe his Majeſty ſhould reſolve upon it, they would go as far as he pleas'd in it; whereas without that, they muſt be ſomething tenderer than they would be.* Which Paſſage is a pregnant Proof, that the *Dutch*, tho in ſome meaſure our Rivals in Trade, are yet more concern'd for the Intereſt and Welfare.

fare of *England*, than a *Frenchify'd* Party among us has all along repreſented them to be.

About this time the *Lunenburgh* Envoy gave a Viſit to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, to deſire him, 'That he would * let his Majeſty know, how 'much his Maſters eſteem'd themſelves honour'd by 'the Overtures his Majeſty made them, of entring 'into an Alliance, of which he was the Head: That 'thereupon they had order'd him to attend at the '*Hague* ever ſince, in hopes of ſome further Propo-'ſals towards the engaging them in it: but that his 'Maſters hearing no further from thence, and find-'ing, that by the ill Poſture of the *Triple Alliance*, 'other Princes of *Germany* were ſeeking other 'Meaſures, they had commanded him to return; 'but firſt to endeavour, by his Excellency's hand, 'to give his Majeſty the beſt Teſtimonies of their 'Affections to his Service, and good Intentions to-'wards the Ends he had ſo gloriouſly engag'd in.' Sir *William Temple* promis'd him to perform the Meſſage, and employ'd the reſt of his Diſcourſe in convincing him, *how much more the Princes of* Germany *were concern'd in the Defence of* Flanders, *than his Majeſty; and that however, if his Maſters had any Expectations beſides their own Intereſts, towards engaging them, they ought to be from* Holland *and not from* England: *ſince the moſt important uſe of their Troops would be to awe the Biſhop of* Munſter, *who might otherwiſe be able, by the* French *Aſſiſtance, to divert all, or the greateſt part of the* Dutch *Forces that way, and thereby leave* Flanders *open to the* French.

On the 13th of *December* 1669, N. S. the Deputies of the States attended Sir *William Temple*, to aſſure him of their Deſires and Reſolutions to ſatisfy his Majeſty in the Buſineſs of *Surinam*; but that they could not yet come to a final Concluſion,

* *Sir* William Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 142.

and

and therefore desir'd him to have patience for a little longer time; after which he might assure himself of a good end of it. They pretended, that Monsieur *De Wit* and their chief Ministers were much taken up at this time; but, upon Discourse, confess'd the *Zealanders* Aim, to have their next Ships arrive from *Surinam:* Upon which Sir *William* fell into some Heat with them, and told them, *He would never send such a Message to his Majesty, such Delays being fitter for Law-Suits than publick Negotiations.* However, he added, *That because he would a little consider their Ministers being so much taken up at this pinch, about Levies and other Affairs, agitating in the States of* Holland, *he was content to stay six Days longer for their Resolution in this matter; upon condition, he should have it in that time to his Majesty's satisfaction:* which they agreed to. Not many Days* after, Sir *William Temple* open'd his Mind yet more fully upon all publick Matters, both Foreign and Domestick, in a remarkable Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, which is as follows:

MY LORD,

'THO Monsieur *Overkirk* wants nothing to 'make him welcome every where, but espe-'cially at the *Hague*; yet I confess he was the 'more so to me, by a Letter he brought me from 'your Lordship: whereby I found my self to be 'not altogether forgotten, where I desire most to 'be remembred, and would deserve it if I could. 'I am very sensible, the Right you say he has 'done me there, may rather prove an ill Office, 'than a good; but however, I am not the less 'oblig'd by his good meaning, nor the more touch'd 'by their ill; who are not content I should gain

* December 24. N. S.

'a

'a little Eſteem, whilſt I am content to gain no-
'thing elſe; and where I ſhould not care for that
'neither, but that I believe it to be the beſt way
'any Miniſter can take, towards the Advantage of
'his Maſter's Service. Whilſt your Lordſhip hath
'neither Share nor Belief in the *ill Offices* are done
'me, I ſhall eaſily neglect what comes from other
'hands, and content my ſelf with not deſerving
'them, and with the Aſſurance, that Time will
'do me Right; and that your Lordſhip will not
'loſe your Confidence of me, till you have told me
'of ſome one Action in my whole Life, that you
'thought did not become a Man you were inclin'd
'to think well of. And ſo I will leave that Subject.
'I agree with your Lordſhip, in being ſorry, that
'Mr. *Werden* did not ſtay to ſee the Effect of his
'Majeſty's laſt Reſolution in the great Buſineſs here.
'And tho the ill, or no Entertainments of this
'Place might excuſe his Haſte of returning; yet I
'believe he would have been content a little to
'delay it, if he had expected any thing new from
'*England*: and for my part, I wiſh nothing more
'than ſome true Witneſs of my Carriage where-
'ever I am employ'd; which, I doubt not, he
'would have prov'd, without *increaſing any more*
'*than leſſening my Faults.* I ſhall do neither by
'thoſe of the *Spaniards*, which your Lordſhip has
'ſo much reaſon to cenſure and reproach; nor
'ſhould I be leſs amaz'd at them, but that I look
'upon them as the uſual Diſtractions of weak and
'diſeas'd Bodies. 'Tis certain, they have deſerv'd
'ſo little of us, that we have no reaſon at all to
'concern our ſelves in their Intereſts or Dangers,
'unleſs we find they will have very ſtrong and ne-
'ceſſary Conſequences upon our own; and in that
'Caſe, our growing angry with them, will only
'ſerve to hurt our ſelves: and we *had better help*
'*them to mend their Faults, than force them by De-*
'*ſpair*

'*ſpair or Hardſhips to increaſe them.* Moſt of the 'Miniſters here not knowing what to make of their 'late Conduct in the Difficulties upon the *Swediſh* 'Mony; nor ſeeing well which way to turn them-'ſelves, in caſe *Spain* ſhould take its Meaſures with '*France*, by an Exchange of *Flanders*; begin to con-'feſs they have dealt too roughly with them, in 'impoſing not only the Laws of a hard Peace upon 'them, but the *Swediſh* Subſidies at the ſame time; 'and ever ſince refuſing them their *Guaranty* till 'thoſe were paid: and ſeem to wiſh they had either 'accepted the firſt Propoſal I was ſent hither to 'make them upon that occaſion, or elſe endea-'vour'd a *Defenſive League* with them, after the 'Concluſion of the Peace at *Aix*; I mean, if it 'might have been done in Conjunction with us. 'For, I think, while we are content to hold firm 'with them, it were no great matter to under-'take they ſhall never take any Meaſures without 'us, either there or any where elſe: tho I know 'there are Reports in *France*, that would make us 'believe it, if we are apt to thoſe Impreſſions.

'For the detaining us ſo long upon the Point of '*Surinam*, it muſt be attributed to the Conſtitu-'tion of this *State*, where the Obſtinacy of any 'one Province can keep off a Reſolution of the '*States-General*, as long as they pleaſe: And that 'happens often, where (as in this caſe) the mat-'ter touches one Province by a particular Intereſt, 'and the reſt only by a general one. For, I am 'ſure, the Province of *Holland* and the other Five 'were, many Months ago, reſolv'd not only to 'give us, in ſubſtance, the Satisfaction we de-'manded, but in our own Forms too; till they 'found, that *Zealand* would never be perſuaded, '*ni gourmandée (nor bullied)* into the ſame Reſo-'lution; which hath made it hang ſo long, and go 'over at laſt defective, as to what we expected

'about one of our Ships; tho, as they contend, 'full as to what we can in any way ground upon 'our Articles. For their great Arming, which it 'ſeems makes more Noiſe with you, and in *France*, 'than it does here, I ſhall not need give your Lord-'ſhip the Particular of it; becauſe that is done with 'the other current News by my Secretary Mr. *Blaith-'wait*, every Week to Mr. *Williamſon*: and ſhall 'only mark what may perhaps have eſcap'd your 'Lordſhip, That there are yet no actual Levies 'here agreed upon, but only Officers choſen, A-'greements made with them, and Security taken 'for their bringing in their Men at a certain Warn-'ing, when they ſhall be call'd upon by the *States*. 'So as the Execution of what is hitherto but pre-'par'd, will depend upon the clearer Diſcovery of 'the *French*, or the *Munſter* Intentions to open a 'War; both which are expected here, and equally 'fear'd: the difference not being great between the 'Danger of *Flanders*, and their own. So that I can 'only anſwer your Lordſhip's Queſtion about the 'States Meaning in this Point; that is, *Qu'on ne 'les trouvera pas ſans Vert le Printems qui vient* *; 'and that if it muſt prove a Year of Action, 'they will not be found without Arms in their 'Hands, for the better making either of *Peace* or '*War*. 'Tis a hard Attempt what your Lordſhip 'mentions, to defend their Neighbours in ſpight 'of their Teeth: yet, I believe, in caſe *Spain* 'ſhould come to an Exchange with *France*, and any 'of the Towns of *Flanders* ſhould refuſe to obey 'it; either not to be *ſold* like Slaves (as they call 'it) by the *Spaniards*, or not to be *us'd* like Slaves 'by the *French*: you would ſee this *State* protect 'them with all their Forces, and blow up any ſuch

* That is, *That they ſhall not be found unprovided the next Spring.*

'*Ends*

'*Ends* of a War in *Flanders*, rather than venture
'it at home; and perhaps endeavour to unite any
'ſuch new Member into the Body of their *State*,
'by giving them an eighth Voice in their Gene-
'rality, in caſe it ſhould be ſuch a Place as *Ant-*
'*werp*, or *Ghent* or *Bruges*, where they might
'eaſily come with their Arms to defend it. And
'they have notice of ſome ſuch Diſcourſes a-foot
'already in theſe Parts, which they neglect not
'to foment, as a Proviſion againſt ſuch a Blow
'from *Spain*. In caſe all they can do, ſhould not
'be of force to prevent the falling of *Flanders* into
'the *French* hands, I believe their laſt Reſource
'may be, to endeavour being receiv'd as a Circle
'into the *Empire*: But in all theſe Tranſactions
'their chiefeſt Care will be, to ſtrengthen their
'Union all they can with us, and to embark us in
'what they now eſteem the *Common Cauſe*, of STOP-
'PING THE GROWTH OF THE FRENCH
'GREATNESS. For tho they ſay, and with
'Truth, That we engag'd them firſt in the Pur-
'ſuit of theſe Meaſures, and the whole Courſe of
'their preſent Counſels; yet they would be much
'at eaſe to ſee us now as warm and as deep in them,
'as they are themſelves; and would fain give us
'the Honour of Leading in them all. The Diſ-
'courſe your Lordſhip will poſſibly hear about
'Changes or Decays in the Credit of the Miniſtry
'here; I believe have no farther Source, than an
'Endeavour in the City of *Amſterdam* to make
'themſelves more conſider'd than as a ſimple
'Town in the Provinces; ſince they pay half of
'all that is laid upon the Province of *Holland*, as
'*Holland* does upon all that is levy'd on the Seven
'Provinces: which makes them believe they ought,
'at leaſt in ſome degree, be conſider'd in the *Pro-*
'*vince*, as *Holland* is in the *State*; which made
'them employ all their Strength to oppoſe the

'Faction of *Leyden*, *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, &c. who, 'under Monſieur *De Wit*'s Influence have of late 'Years carried all before them in the uſual Elec-'tions; and join with the Body of the Nobility 'here, to chuſe Monſieur *Matteniſſe* in excluſion of 'Monſieur *Meerman*, where the Conteſt was about an 'Office of the greateſt Profit in theſe Countries, and 'of great Honour, tho not Influence upon the 'Publick Affairs. They have likewiſe ſucceeded 'well in the late Election of Officers for the new 'Levies, and ſeem diſpos'd to run on ſtill in a 'String: and amongſt them, there have of late 'been Overtures about making a new Miniſter, 'under the name of *Secretary of State*; whoſe Pro-'vince ſhould be chiefly to receive the Addreſſes 'of foreign Miniſters, and take the Care of all 'foreign Diſpatches; and ſo eaſe Monſieur *De Wit* 'of that Attention he is fain to give to thoſe, as 'well as the Home-Affairs. And this, I ſuppoſe, 'was calculated for Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, who 'has ſilently had a great hand in all the Counſels 'and Motions of his Town of *Amſterdam*; and, I 'believe, will, in effect, come to have the chief 'Part, or at leaſt Burden in foreign Tranſactions, 'whether with any new Name or no.

'Monſieur *De Wit* in theſe late *Brigues* (or In-'trigues) has very prudently avoided any appea-'rance of being a Party in them; and contented 'himſelf with going his uſual Pace, but ſtickling 'no farther in any of them: ſeeming rather to in-'tend and endeavour the Compoſure of all, than 'the valuing himſelf upon a Diviſion; which, I 'believe, with his being ſo neceſſary to the *State*, 'will ever preſerve him in his Conſideration here, '*without ſome violent Revolution*, to which nothing 'ſeems at all diſpos'd.

'Among the late Diviſions of this Province, one 'great Point has been, about the intended Prohi-

'bition

'bition of *French* Commodities; which has been 'violently carry'd on by Monſieur *Van Beuningen* 'and his Town of *Amſterdam*, but oppos'd and 'temper'd by the Towns of the other Faction, upon 'the reſpect of their particular Intereſts in the '*French* Trade, and the pretext of Danger or ill 'Conſequences in ſuch a Counſel, unleſs it be taken 'in Concert with *England*. So that whether it 'will go further than the *Defence* * of the com-'mon *French* Commodities that are in Wear, I 'know not; tho Monſieur *Van Beuningen* reckon'd '(not long ſince) abſolutely, that it would be car-'ried to *French* Salt and Brandy; and if we would 'go the ſame Pace, it ſhould reach the *Wine* too: '*Which he believ'd would ſoon bring* France *into ſuch* 'a *Conſumption, as would keep them from being ſo* 'troubleſome *abroad*. But I entred no further with 'him into any Diſcourſe of that kind; becauſe *I* '*doubt whether we are of a Temper or a Humour, to* 'reſolve *or execute any bold or ſmart Propoſitions, how* 'well *ſoever conceiv'd, or conducing to our Health and* 'good *Fortune; tho I queſtion not at all, but God Al-*'mighty *has given us the Power of going as high as* 'the *greateſt of our Neighbours: But, perhaps,* as your 'Lordſhip ſays, *unknown to our ſelves, and in another* 'way *than ſome of us would be glad to have had it.* 'But wherever it lies, I doubt it will never come 'out, *till his Majeſty can find the means to make an* 'end *of all fencing with the Bents of his Parliament,* 'or *Diſcontents of his People; and bring his Govern-*'ment *into the Credit of having no other Aims nor In-*'tereſts, *but thoſe of his Subjects in general; nor in* 'particular, *nor conſequently any Eye upon their Mony,* 'but *for thoſe Uſes they are willing to give it.* This, 'I confeſs, is my Opinion upon the whole, and 'that all does not conſiſt in a Parliament's being

* *Sir* W. Temple *uſes this Word for* Prohibition.

'pre-

'prevail'd with to give what is ask'd in point of 'Mony, as I find many People think. However, 'I ſhould never have ſaid it to any but your Lord-'ſhip, nor to you neither; but induc'd by the me-'lancholy Reflections I obſerv'd in your Letter, up-'on this Subject. But, whatever mine or another's 'Opinion is, I am confident every Man that thinks 'at all, muſt think it were not amiſs, if his Ma-'jeſty and his Miniſters would, once for all, con-'ſider and agree upon a general Draught of thoſe 'Ways and Counſels, both at Home and Abroad, 'as they judge will beſt anſwer the great Ends of 'the King and Kingdom's Safety, Honour and 'Quiet. For when ſuch a Scheme is once agreed 'upon, all the Parts of it may be purſu'd in their 'Order, and with conſtant Application, till they 'are brought to paſs; at leaſt ſuch as fail not in 'the Trial, and ſo are found to have been ill con-'ceiv'd. But *if it ſhould prove* (as I find ſome 'Men think) *that we live only by the Day, and con-'tent our ſelves to* PATCH UP THINGS AS THEY 'BREAK OUT, *and fly at the Game as it riſes; it 'is, at the beſt, but like Birding and Hawking, which 'may furniſh a Diſh or two, but can never keep the 'Houſe.*

'If your Lordſhip can pardon all this Liberty and 'Trouble, I will not run my ſelf into the occaſion 'of asking it again; if not, you muſt lay the whole 'fault upon your own Letter, or rather upon my 'not having heard from you, or written to you 'of late; and upon my perpetual ſtrong Inclina-'tions, of returning into my old Correſpondence, 'juſt as a Man does into an *old Love*, which lies 'ſtill at Heart, however diverted or diſcontinu'd. 'But becauſe I uſe ſo much freedom in the account 'of Diſpoſitions here, and of my own Thoughts, 'I ſend it by Mr. *Richard's* Conveyance to your 'own Hands; in which I ſhall ever think all ſafe

'that

'that concerns me, becauſe I have been always, 'and am with ſo much Paſſion, *MY LORD*, 'Yours, *&c.*

This home Letter the Earl of *Arlington* did not think fit to anſwer till the 7th of *January* $16\frac{69}{70}$, O. S. when he told * Sir *William*, *He was aſham'd to acknowledg an old one of the 24th paſt*, N. S. *It came to me*, added his Lordſhip, *the Night before I began my Journey into* Suffolk; *but being now become an old one, requires little or no Anſwer, unleſs I ſhould repeat again to you, the* PERFECT FRIENDSHIP *I have, without any Interruption, continu'd hitherto; and dare ſay, ſhall continue all the days of my Life. The beſt preſent Effect of which I can give you, is, to adviſe you not to be troubled (as you ſeem to be) at the Cenſures of your Behaviour in that Negotiation: The Diſorder befallen it by the irregular Proceeding (not to call it worſe) of the* Spaniards, *and the Uneaſineſs in which that has left us, may be the occaſion of diſtemper'd and unjuſt Cenſures (of which I have not been without my ſhare) which cannot be long-liv'd, and are therefore the eaſier to be ſupported. You will not wonder if I tell you, how impatient we are to know what Effect his Majeſty's Offer, to enter into the* Concert *of Forces, has had upon the Conſtable. In the freſheſt Letter I have from Sir* William † Godolphin, *he tells me, he is confident the Conſtable has new Orders to comply with our Deſires thereupon. But he ſays withal, the Miniſters will have us know it from the Conſtable only, who may have told it you, if he pleaſes, by the time this arrives in* Holland. *I pray God he does it time enough to prevent a Breach in the Spring, which I am perſuaded can only be done by* France's *ſeeing the* Triple League *yet in vigour. I told you, long ago, of the Attempts his Majeſty reſolv'd to make upon the King*

* *See the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 420.

† *The* Engliſh *Miniſter at* Madrid.

of France, *to defer the Arbitrement of the Diſputes about the Dependencies upon the conquer'd Places, to ſome amicable and fair Deciſion, as a means of barring the Door, through which the War can only enter. He has had ſome Diſcourſe with the* French *Ambaſſador here upon that Subject; and our Ambaſſador has had the like with the Miniſters at* Paris: *Upon both which,* fair Anſwers *have been made; but not ſuch as are yet worth the ſending you. If we can ſucceed herein, it is the beſt and the cheapeſt way we have of diſcharging our ſelves of our Obligations to the* Triple Alliance; *but I doubt not ſo pleaſing to* Spain, *as arming of Ships and Men, and tranſporting them at a vaſt Expence would be: unleſs they have ſome private Negotiation on foot at the ſame time. The Opinion of which, ſtill continues; but each Party will, and ought to play their Game as it ſuits beſt with the Conſtitution of their own Affairs; and this, I am ſure, agrees beſt with ours. I would it were otherwiſe.*

Upon the receipt of this Letter Sir *William Temple* plainly ſaw what courſe the Court of *England* deſign'd to ſteer; and therefore in the Draught of the *Project* or *Concert*, which was ſent to the Conſtable, *he could not be induc'd* * *to engage his Majeſty in point of time; tho he was never preſs'd with more earneſtneſs to any thing, both by the* Spaniards *and by the* Dutch. Sir *William* having, about this time, given Monſieur *De Wit* the firſt News of the *French* King's Declaration, to refer the Judgment of the Differences depending on the Peace to his *Britannick* Majeſty and the Crown of *Sweden*'s Arbitration; that diſcerning Politician ſaid, 'He thought † the leaving 'out the States was ſomething diſcourteous on the '*French* ſide; but however, he was very glad of 'the thing being done, and hop'd, as the Buſineſs

* *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 162.
† Ubi ſupra, *p.* 166.

'ſhould

'ſhould receive no Hurt on their ſide, ſo it would 'receive none on the ſide of *England* by any Effect 'of the great CAJOLRY of *France*; eſpecially 'ſince this Reſolution appear'd, by the time, to 'have no other Source than only the Civility or De-'ference of that Court towards his Majeſty.' Nor was Monſieur *De Wit* miſtaken in his Judgment of this Offer of *France*, which ſoon after appear'd to be but an *Amuſement*, in order *to lay aſleep* *, *all Thoughts and Preparations for War, both in* Flanders *and* Holland: tho the *Dutch* Miniſters lay no great Streſs on *French* Promiſes. Sir *William Temple* gave an account of all this to the Earl of *Arlington*; and in the ſame Letter †, ſent his Lordſhip Baron *D'Iſola*'s rough Propoſals, concerning the Emperor's joining with the *Triple Alliance*; which was very coldly entertain'd in *England*. 'With his Favour, '*ſaid the Earl of* Arlington, *in his Anſwer* ‖ *to* '*Sir* William, till I ſee more and better Evidence 'of it than I have yet, I will not believe the Em-'peror very fond of embracing the Propoſition, ſo 'as to give *Offence* to *France*. And if he be thus 'ſhy with all his Concernments and Dependencies 'upon *Spain*; what ought our Maſter to be, with 'his Neceſſities, and little Security of being re-'liev'd in them by the Parliament? If that goes 'over happily, you may perhaps hear us ſpeak 'more boldly; but, till then, it muſt be a great 'part of our Prudence to keep his Majeſty from 'being ask'd Queſtions, which are hard to grant, 'and as unfit to deny. From what I ſay, you 'may eaſily infer my Mind, without alledging to 'the Miniſters there, my Reaſons for it; and to 'take heed of ſuffering his Majeſty, or your ſelf,

* Ubi ſupra, *p.* 167.
† Ubi ſupra, *p.* 168.
‖ *The Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 425.

'*to be prais'd into Meaſures, which his Strength will* '*not ſupport.* It is viſible, the Intereſt of *Spain*, of '*Holland*, and of *Swedeland*, is not only to put 'themſelves into a ſtate of ſupporting the War 'againſt *France*, but even to provoke it; and per-'haps it would be our Maſter's Honour to do ſo 'too: But without Vigour to ſupport that Ho-'nour, it would have a contrary Effect upon us, 'not only Abroad but at Home too.' By this time Sir *William Temple*'s preſſing Inſtances were ſo effectual with the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, that before the end of *February* 1670, N. S. the long expected matter of the *Swediſh* Payment, and the *Concert*, were happily concluded, and tranſmitted to Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, for his Majeſty's Ratifications; which, however, were not exchang'd till the beginning of *May*. Tho by a Letter of the 4th of *March*, O. S. the Earl of *Arlington* congratulated Sir *William* on the Succeſs of his Negotiation: *Yet*, * ſaid his Lordſhip, *I will not diſſemble with you, I was ſorry to ſee the Inſtruments run ſo near the two Points that were poſitively forbidden*; † *to wit, the aſcertaining a time for the Preparations, and furniſhing of the King's Quota, in caſe a War break out*; *and the anſwering for a part* (viz. 15000 *Crowns* per Menſem) *of the* Swediſh *future Subſidies. I am further to complain to you, that notwithſtanding what I wrote upon the Receipt of Baron* D'Iſola's *Project, you have not prevail'd with him to forbear writing, and offering the ſame to me; whereas I, in my Opinion, furniſh'd you with ſome Reaſons, both publick and private, againſt the ſaid Project; and told you, this would be one of thoſe embaraſſing Queſtions, which are equally hard to deny or grant. But my way to be reveng'd of you for this, ſhall be to ſend him to you; therefore provide your*

* Ubi ſupra, *p.* 427.
† Ubi ſupra, *p.* 425.

ſelf

ſelf to anſwer his Queſtions as skilfully as you can. For, in a word, tho his Majeſty's Condition, as to his Debts, is much amended ſince I wrote, yet he is not enabled thereby, or willing, as Affairs of Chriſtendom *ſtand, to enter into great Schemes, which may have prejudicial Conſequences, how honourable ſoever they are in the Noiſe of the World.* In another * Letter of the 22d of the ſame Month, the Earl of *Arlington* acquainted Sir *William* with other Reaſons, why his Majeſty *could not enter into any Defenſive Union with the* Emperor, *as the Baron* D'Iſola *propos'd*; viz. *that it might oblige our Armies to march againſt the* Turk, *if he ſhould invade the Empire; or at leaſt, againſt* France, *if he ſhould attack* Briſac, *or the remoteſt part of* Germany *from us. Beſides this,* adds the Earl of *Arlington, there is ſomething to be given to the time in which this is propos'd to us. How ill a Grace it will have to* France, *to make ſuch a* League *in effect againſt them, when they have offer'd to refer themſelves to his Majeſty's Arbitration, upon all the Points in Diſpute.* Sir *William Temple* ſeeing the Propoſal of admitting the Emperor into the Guaranty of the Peace at *Aix la Chapelle* thus rejected; and finding by the Lord-Keeper *Bridgman*'s Letters, that he was, in a manner out of the foreign † Counſels, he laid ſome ſtreſs upon the Information his Lordſhip gave his Excellency, *viz. That my Lord* Arlington *was not at all the ſame to him that he had been. Which Sir* William took *for an ill ſign in the publick Buſineſs, and an ill Circumſtance in his own; and the more, becauſe he was ſure not to have deſerv'd it, and found nothing of it in the Earl's Letters, but only that they came ſeldom, and run upon more indifferent things than they us'd to do.*

* Ubi ſupra, *p.* 429.

† *See Sir* William Temple's *Letters.* Vol. II. p. 292.

We may here take notice, that the Attempt, which towards the end of the Year 1669, was made among the States, to create a new Miniſter, under the name of Secretary of State, was in order to advance to that Office Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, a Perſon well affected to the Prince of *Orange*. But tho that Deſign was quaſh'd (as was hinted before) by Monſieur *De Wit*'s great Intereſt, yet Monſieur *Van Beuningen* ſtir'd ſo much in favour of the Prince, that the States of *Holland*, after the warmeſt Debates that had been known among them for many Years, * reſolv'd, by a Plurality of Voices, *That the Prince ſhould have Seſſion in the Council of State with a deciſive Voice, and ſhould have the ſame place his Anceſtors had formerly had.* However, after this was reſolv'd on, the Party that moſt oppos'd the Prince's Intereſt ſtarted two new Points: The firſt, That no Captain-General ſhould be choſen, otherwiſe than from Year to Year, but by Unanimity of Voices: and, Secondly, That in caſe the Prince ſhould be choſen Captain-General for Life, then it ſhould be again debated and reſolv'd, by Plurality of Voices, Whether he ſhould continue his Seſſion in the Council of State. Theſe two Queſtions were agreed to by all the Towns, excepting Four or Five, in which number were *Amſterdam* and *Haerlem*; who maintain'd, that they were not to be reſolv'd till thoſe matters came under Debate.

Not long after, King *Charles* wrote to the Prince of *Orange*, *renewing* † *his deſire to him, to ſee him in the Spring of the Year* 1670. And the Earl of *Arlington*, who gave notice of it to Sir *William Temple*, added, That *if his Highneſs accepted of the Invitation, my Lord* Oſſory *would be ſent over to conduct him into* England. Hereupon the Prince was

* May 1670. *The Prince admitted to the Council of State.*

† *The Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 430.

very

very earneſt with * Sir *William Temple* to know, 'Whether he was like to procure any ſatisfaction 'in his Pretenſions there, about his Mother's 'Dowry: adding, induſtriouſly, That all his beſt 'Friends in *Holland* were of Opinion, that in caſe 'that ſhould wholly fail him, his Journey into '*England* would prove of great Prejudice to his 'Affairs; by letting his Friends ſee, how little he 'was regarded by his Majeſty, whoſe Countenance 'would be a great Support to him in the Courſe 'of his Fortunes.' Sir *William Temple*, who was ſhy of offering the leaſt Judgment of his own on this matter, told his Highneſs, *That he was wholly ignorant of his Maſter's Affairs, beſides what related to* Holland; *and particularly of the preſent State of his Revenue; or how much the late Supplies had contributed towards the Eaſe of it.* Upon this, his Highneſs deſir'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to touch upon this Point to the Lord *Arlington*; but finding no Encouragement from his Lordſhip, his Highneſs put off the thoughts of his Journey till towards the Sitting of the Parliament; having aſſur'd Sir *William Temple*, 'That he reſolv'd to ſteer by his Ma-'jeſty's Advice, in the courſe of his Affairs, and 'Motions relating to *England*.' So that all that Sir *William Temple* pretended to have done *in favour of the Prince, during his firſt Embaſſy to the States, was only not to have ſpoil'd his Buſineſs; which it had been the eaſieſt thing in the World for an* Engliſh *Miniſter, at the* Hague, *to have done.* For that great Politician did wiſely conclude, *That the beſt part the* Engliſh *could play, was to ſeem no further concern'd in the Affairs of* Holland, *than their Wiſhes for the perfect Union of a State they were ſo near allied to; tho, at the ſame time, he did not fail to inſinuate by the by, that ſuch an Union would never be*

* Sir W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 200.

com-

compaſs'd, but by taking in the Prince's Intereſts as far as could conſiſt with the Liberty of the State; and making ſuch a Perſon of him, as might in Title, Expence, and other Circumſtances, repreſent the Dignity of their Commonwealth. The Judgment Sir *William* made of the Prince of *Orange* on this Occaſion, in a Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, deſerves particular Notice. *I wiſh to God*, ſaid * he, *he do nothing towards the Prejudice of his Affairs himſelf, by Advice of younger or warmer Heads: for this is a Country where Fruit ripens ſlowly, and cannot be preſerv'd, if it be gather'd green. I am very confident from his laſt, as well as the preſent Diſpoſitions I here diſcern, that his Fortunes are in his own Hands; and I hope he will make great Advantages of them in the Conduct of them, by your Lordſhip's Advices, when he ſees you in* England; *of whoſe Prudence and Vertues he will go over with a very full Perſuaſion.*

About this time † a violent Humour run againſt Monſieur *De Wit* in the City of *Amſterdam*, upon pretence of his growing too far into the Sway of all Affairs by ſo long a Miniſtry, and of advancing *his own Creatures* into Offices and Places of Truſt, with too much Induſtry. 'The bottom of this 'Sir *William Temple* ‖ ſuppos'd to be the ſame with 'that of all popular Humours; that is, a deſign 'in the Leaders to change the Scene, that thereby 'thoſe who *had been long employ'd*, might make 'room for thoſe who *had been long out*. And he 'was not of Opinion they would ſucceed to preju-'dice him ſuddenly; both becauſe his chief Ene-'mies acknowledg'd his great Abilities, and Uſeful-'neſs to the State; and becauſe he would always 'have it in his power to fall in very conſiderably

* Ubi ſupra, p. 201.

† June 3. N. S. Ubi ſupra, p. 202.

‖ *Sir* William Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 292.

'with

'with the Prince's Intereſt, which the other Party 'pretended to promote. Tho he thought, in ſuch 'a Caſe, his Highneſs would have a hard Choice 'which Wind to ſail; as indeed he was likely to 'fall into Conjunctures that would require all his 'Prudence.' Theſe Conjectures of Sir *William Temple* were grounded on ſolid Reaſons; for indeed Monſieur *De Wit*'s Intereſt was ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd, that nothing leſs than the Irruption of the whole *French* Power was able to ſhake it. Wherefore it muſt be confeſs'd, that *France*, in ſome meaſure, contributed to the Reſtoration of the Prince of *Orange*, altho without the leaſt deſign to favour him: Providence ſo ordering it, that that Monarch ſhould ravage, and almoſt deſtroy this flouriſhing Republick, to make them ſenſible of their Ingratitude; and convince them, that the reſtoring the Family of the Founders of their Commonwealth, was the only means to prevent their total Ruin.

But to proceed: The Earl of *Arlington* having intimated to Sir *William Temple*, a Suſpicion that was entertain'd both in *France* and *England*, That *the Anſwer* * *from* Spain, to his *Britannick* Majeſty, *was dictated at the* Hague; and a Deſire to know ſomething particular of Monſieur *Van Beuningen*'s Errand into *England*: Sir *William* gave his Lordſhip his Thoughts thereupon, with a great deal of Frankneſs. 'The firſt, ſaid † he, I am confi-'dent is without any other ground, than a common 'Opinion we have conceiv'd, of more *Fineſſe* than 'I have yet obſerv'd in the chief Miniſters here; 'who are as hard and as firm as you can imagine 'them: but for TRICKS or JUGGLING, I do not ob-'ſerve, either their Abilities or their Diſpoſitions lie

* April 29. O. S. *See the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 432.

† *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 180. & ſeq.

'much

'much that way: *Nor*, indeed, *does any wiſe Man's*, 'unleſs he be brought to it by the ill Condition or Neceſſity 'of his Affairs, and finds no other way of living; 'which is not yet their Caſe here, nor will be, I 'ſuppoſe, while *Flanders* is preſerv'd. And ſo 'long I ſhall look upon them as Merchants in good 'Eſtate and Credit, and who will endeavour to 'keep it up by *ſquare Dealing*: But when ever they 'fail in their Adventure, I ſhall grow as jealous 'of them as I ſee others are. I have enquir'd par-'ticularly of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and am aſ-'ſur'd by him, that all Monſieur *De Wit*'s Diſcour-'ſes, upon the Subject of the late Anſwer from 'Spain, agreed perfectly with what he made me 'upon the ſame Occaſion. And I know the States 'Deputies at *Bruſſels* had immediate Orders from 'hence, to apply themſelves very earneſtly to the 'Conſtable for the Redreſs of that Fault: And I 'dare lay, whoever thinks that theſe Men here will 'quit a Point of *Intereſt* for a *Point of Honour*, 'has taken a wrong meaſure of them. The *Spaniſh* 'Ambaſſador bids me be aſſur'd, that the Anſwer 'from *Spain* will be amended, and come in all 'Points to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction: He goes this 'day from hence towards *Bruſſels*, being haſtned 'thither by an Expreſs from the *Conſtable*; who, 'I believe, intends to make uſe of him in the *Junto* 'there: upon whom I hear he will wholly devolve 'all his publick Buſineſs; having taken an Atteſta-'tion from his Phyſicians, that his ill Health has 'render'd him wholly uncapable of charging himſelf 'any longer with it.——For Monſieur *Van Beuning-'en*'s Errand into *England*, I ſuppoſe the riſe of 'it was of an old Date; and occaſion'd a good 'deal, by my laying often to their Charge, the 'want of Reſpect they ſhew'd his Majeſty in the 'Choice of the Miniſters they ſent into *England*; 'who are ſeldom of the Province of *Holland*, or of

'thoſe

'those Persons most consider'd in this *State:* Be-
'sides, when I found I was not able to bring the
'Business of our *Marine Treaty* to such a conclusion
'as we propos'd; tho I fail'd but in one Article
'(which yet it seems is thought to import the
'whole of our Pretensions there) I told them here,
'that it would be absolutely necessary to treat
'it in *England*, and bring it to some Issue there:
'and for that purpose, to send some able Person
'over; who being perfectly intrusted in it from
'hence, might debate it there with Persons as well
'instructed on our side. Upon these grounds Mon-
'sieur *Van Beuningen*'s Journey was thought fit a-
'bove a Year ago; but his being chosen *Burgo-*
'*master* of *Amsterdam* about the same time, made
'him absolutely refuse it. Since his Year expir'd,
'my Instances still continuing for a conclusion in
'our *East-India* Business, and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*'s
'Papers upon the same Subject keeping life in it
'from time to time, Monsieur *Van Beuningen* began
'about two Months since, to shew some Inclination
'to the Journey; which has been pursu'd very ear-
'nestly by the *States* here, and especially by Mon-
'sieur *De Wit*, till it came lately, on all sides, to
'be resolv'd on. So as your Lordship must reckon,
'that the avow'd Errand will be the Business of
'the *East-India* Company; and the clearing that
'part of the *Marine Treaty*, which so long prov'd
'too hard for me here. Besides, this will be the
'Compliment they pretend to make his Majesty, in
'sending a Person of so much Account among them,
'as Monsieur *Van Beuningen*; and with the Orders
'of *Surinam*, which they here reckon upon as a per-
'fect piece of Compliance with his Majesty. And
'this is the account they give the *French* Ambassa-
'dor of his Journey; adding a good deal of Mon-
'sieur *Van Beuningen*'s Inclination to see *England* in
'this Season. That which is further meant by it,

'is, firſt in general, to inform themſelves perfectly 'of *our Temper*, in the purſuit of thoſe Ends we 'have been theſe two or three Years laſt engag'd 'in: and which many Diſcourſes and Reflections of 'late have made them a little ſuſpect, does not 'continue ſo equal and ſo warm as it began. And in 'this regard it will be his Buſineſs to uſe his beſt and 'moſt perſuaſive Oratory, to confirm us in the 'purſuit of thoſe common Intereſts abroad, which 'we have of late ſo much advanc'd by our *Triple Al-* 'liance, and the Dependances of it; and, in ſhort, 'to perſuade us, that it is more our Honour and our 'Intereſt *to lead* than *to follow*. In purſuit of this, 'he will, I believe, endeavour to diſpoſe us to ac- 'cept a Conjunction with ſuch Princes of the *Empire* 'as deſire it, upon ſuch Meaſures as are propos'd in 'the late Project. I ſent your Lordſhip, drawn up 'by Monſieur *De Wit*: Tho I have made ſo good 'way in *defending* * you upon this Point, that I 'believe it would not coſt much Trouble there, un- 'leſs you are willing to enter farther into it than 'you ſeem'd of late. Another Point, and that 'which I believe he will moſt eagerly purſue, is the '*Prohibition of* French *Commodities, upon which his* '*particular Imagination has been long bent, as the only* '*ſure and eaſy way of bringing the* French Power *and* 'Riches *into* Decay, in caſe the thing could be a- 'greed on among all, or the greateſt part of their 'Neighbours: And this State having ſounded the 'Spaniſh Court upon that Point, receiv'd anſwer, 'That whatever *England* and they ſhould agree 'upon, *Spain* would readily join with them in it: 'By which means they ſuppoſe, that beſides what 'would be ſav'd by both our Nations, by ſtopping 'the VAST IMPORTATION *of* FRENCH COM- 'MODITIES; a very great Traffick would be gain'd

* *This word is us'd here in the* French *ſenſe*, viz. *for* Excuſing.

'by

'by EXPORTING OUR OWN, *to furniſh the* Spa-
'niſh *Fleet, which ſupplies their* Weſt-Indies *every*
'*Year in a great meaſure with Commodities brought*
'*them from* France. The Reſolutions of this *State*
'go as yet no farther, as I can hear, than to all ſorts
'of wearing Goods and Brandy; nor do I know
'whether this it ſelf will be brought to execution,
'before they are ſatisfy'd how far we are likely to
'join with them in it: After which, the Conſide-
'rations of *Wine* and *Salt* will likewiſe come in play.
'Beſides theſe publick Matters, I doubt you will
'likewiſe be purſu'd about Mr. *Honywood*'s Widow,
'who is Daughter to a *Burgomaſter* of *Amſterdam*, and
'ſo moſt properly under Monſieur *Van Beuningen*'s
'Protection, eſpecially being a *young and handſome*
'*Widow*; which, I hear, will tempt her to go over
'with him her ſelf, and plead her own Cauſe.
'I do not think the Intentions of his Journey go
'further than what I have mention'd, unleſs he be
'invited to *any thing upon the Place, or by ſome new*
'*Accident from abroad.* In the mean time, to do
'him right, we ſhall have a great deal of reaſon to
'welcome him, becauſe he has very induſtriouſly em-
'ploy'd himſelf in helping us to gain our Point
'upon the Buſineſs of *Surinam*, which was yeſterday
'reſolv'd on by the *States-General*, tho the Province
'of *Zeland* proteſted againſt it. And beſides, no-
'thing has given us ſo hopeful a Proſpect of the
'Prince's good Fortunes here, as the Support of the
'Town of *Amſterdam*, ſo declar'd, and ſo warm in
'his preſent Government; towards which I am con-
'fident Monſieur *Van Beuningen* has very much con-
'tributed, as being a Perſon of great Influence in
'that City. Your Lordſhip will know by the in-
'clos'd, that Monſieur *De St. Evremond* ſet out this
'Morning towards *England*, with the *Portugal* Am-
'baſſador likewiſe; who both accompany Mon-
'ſieur *D'Opdam* as far as *Newport*, and there em-

'bark for *Dover*; whilſt he goes on to meet the 'French King at *Dunkirk*, with the *States* Com-'pliments.

P. S. 'I had forgot to tell your Lordſhip, that 'another part of Monſieur *Van Beuningen*'s Inſtruc-'tions will be, to endeavour all that can be, that 'this State may be admitted into a Conjunction 'with his Majeſty, for the Purſuit of the *Algerines*, 'till they are reduc'd to the Neceſſity of a Peace 'with both.'

In a ſubſequent * Letter, Sir *William Temple* gave the Earl of *Arlington* the Character of Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, which ſhews what perfect knowledge he had of Men, as well as of Buſineſs: *Your Lordſhip*, ſays he, *will find nothing to leſſen your Eſteem of his Perſon, unleſs it be, that he is not always ſo willing to hear, as to be heard; and out of the abundance of his Imagination, is apt ſometimes to* reaſon *a Man to death: which I tell your Lordſhip before-hand, that you may not fall into any Prejudice before you know him well. And on the other ſide, I have taken ſome care to prevent his employing that Talent too much in your Converſations. For the reſt, you will find him,* fort honnête Homme, *(a very honeſt Man) one that puts all the Good of his Country upon maintaining and cultivating his Majeſty's Alliance; and who upon the Prince's Occaſion, will deſerve the Good-will of our Court. For his manner of negotiating, I am confident, you will find him not ill-bred, nor offering to impoſe his* † Meaſures, *as you call them,* upon us: *But after any Propoſitions and Reaſons he ſhall lay before you, will rather tell you that you* are Maſters of all; *and that the* States *will, in all things that*

* *Dated* June 3. Ubi ſupra, *p.* 196.

† *The Earl of* Arlington *in one of his Letters* (Vol. I. p. 434.) *has this remarkable Expreſſion about Monſieur* Van Beuningen: But if he comes to interrupt us, I mean, to lead us out of our own Meaſures, into ſome of his, he may be deceiv'd.

concern

concern our Neighbours, perfectly follow those his Majesty shall take. This last must be understood in a complimental way: for 'tis certain, as the Event plainly shew'd, that the *States* never intended to go all lengths with King *Charles*; who, at this very Juncture, ratify'd a secret *Treaty* lately concluded with *France*, at an Interview at *Dover*, between his Majesty and *Madame*, (the Dutchess of *Orleans*) his Sister, whom the King of *France* sent over for that purpose; while he himself went to view the stupendous Works that were raising at *Dunkirk*. I am not ignorant that many will not allow, there ever was a *formal Treaty* concluded at *Dover*; but whether there was any such Convention, or no, the Event abundantly shew'd, that King *Charles* was drawn, at least, into a verbal Assurance and Promise to favour the *French* Designs; either by the hopes the *French* gave him, of making him as *absolute* and *arbitrary* as their own Monarch: A Bait which few Princes have Power to resist; or by the Promise of a large Pension from *France*. This last Motive could not but be prevalent with a King, whose *Revenue* was too little to gratify his *Pleasures*, and whose Expences that way were now like to encrease: For 'tis to be observ'd, that in order to keep the *British* Monarch firm to the *French* Interest, by the most endearing Engagement, *Madame* left behind her Mademoiselle *De Queroualle*, one of her brightest Attendants; by whose Charms the amorous Prince was inflam'd at first sight; and who, soon after, became his favourite Mistress, under the Name and Title of Dutchess of *Portsmouth*. As for *Madame*, the King's Sister, she paid very dear for this *Interview*; for whatever was the Cause, (which then occasion'd various Surmizes) she died suddenly at *St. Cloud*, on Sunday the 29th of *June*, N. S. Upon the Report that spread over all *Europe*, that her Royal-Highness had not fair play for her Life,

the

the Earl of *Arlington* wrote to Sir *William Temple*, 'That the Embroilments * that were in her Domeſticks, and the Suddenneſs of her Death, made 'the Opinion eaſily take place in *England*, that ſhe 'was *poiſon'd*: But that the knowledg they had had 'ſince, of the Care taken to examine her Body; and 'the Perſuaſion they underſtood his moſt Chriſtian 'Majeſty was in, (whom it behov'd to know the 'matter to the bottom) that ſhe did not die of a 'violent Death, had taken off the greateſt part of 'their Suſpicions. And his Lordſhip ſuppos'd the 'Mareſchal *De Bellefonds*, who arriv'd that † Evening, would entirely convince them that they 'had nothing to lament herein, but the loſs of 'this admirable Princeſs, without any odious Circumſtances, to make their Grief more inſupportable.' He added by way of *Poſtſcript*, 'That a 'Week before, he wrote to the Baron *De Iſola*, ſuch 'an Anſwer as he could think fit, to his long and 'fine Letter: But that his Lordſhip was ſorry the 'Baron had not, in *England*, a better *Gladiator* to try 'his Skill with.' In anſwer to this Letter, Sir *William* wrote ‖ to the Earl of *Arlington*, He *was very glad to find that the great meaſure of his Majeſty's Grief upon* Madame's *Death, was a little leſſen'd by the Satisfaction he had receiv'd, that it had paſs'd without that odious Circumſtance, which was, at firſt, ſo generally thought to have attended it; and of which he (Sir* William) *endeavour'd, in his Diſcourſe at the* Hague, *to allay the Suſpicions, ſince he ſaw his Majeſty* ſo convinc'd; *tho it was a very difficult matter to ſucceed in, after ſo general a Poſſeſſion, which had been much encreas'd by the Princeſs (of* Orange) *Dowager's Curioſity, to ask her Phyſician's Opinion upon the Relation tranſmitted to one of them, from his Brother, who was the*

* *The Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 437.
† June 28. O. S. ‖ July 15. N. S. Vol. II. p. 221.

Dutch *Secretary at* Paris; *and pretended it came from Dr.* Chamberlain, *tho ſomething different from what he tranſmitted into* England. That *however it happen'd, it had certainly all the Circumſtances to aggravate the Affliction to his Majeſty; which Sir* William *was infinitely touch'd with, as well as with the ſenſe of an Accident in it ſelf ſo deplorable: But that it is a neceſſary Tribute we pay for the continuance of our own Lives, to bewail the frequent, and ſometimes untimely Deaths of our Friends:* Et levius fit Patientiâ quicquid corrigere eſt nefas. Two excellent Reflections! But which of the two, the *Latin* of *Horace*, or the *Engliſh* of Sir *William Temple*, deſerves the Preference, in point of Acuteneſs, I leave others to determine.

The Lord *Berkley* being about this time appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Sir *William Temple* congratulated * him upon his Advancement; and that his Letter might not be altogether complimental, he took that Occaſion *to obſerve to his Lordſhip, that he found, by a general Conſent of the Merchants in* Holland, *that* Ireland *ran every Year an Eighth part in Debt, by importing ſo much beyond its Exportation; which being to be drawn out in Coin, would be a certain, tho ſlow Conſumption of the Treaſury of that Kingdom; unleſs remedy'd by ſumptuary Laws, or Examples of leſſening the Importation of foreign Commodities; or elſe Induſtry for increaſing the native, which are either conſum'd at Home, or carried Abroad. The firſt,* added he, *is like Diet, but the other like Exerciſe, to an indiſpos'd Body; which is the way of acquiring Strength and Vigour, whereas the former gives but barely Health. I believe the two great Improvements to be made in* Ireland, *are of the* Fiſhing *and the* Linnen *Trade: This to keep our* Mony *at Home, and that to fetch more in from Abroad.* This Paſſage ſhews, that nothing

* *Dated* May 30. N. S. ubi ſupra, *p.* 193.

which

which Sir *William Temple* thought might conduce to the Proſperity and Advantage of the *Britiſh* Dominions, eſcap'd that great Man's Notice. And tho this Hint of ſettling a *Linnen Manufacture* in *Ireland* was at that time over-look'd, yet it was afterwards effectually purſu'd, to the great Benefit of that Kingdom; chiefly by the Encouragement of the late Queen *MARY*, of Ever-bleſſed Memory. I ſhall tranſcribe another Paſſage from one of Sir *William*'s Letters * to my Lord *Berkley*; which ſhews he knew, on proper Occaſions, how to lay down the Gravity of a Stateſman, and to be merry, tho with Decency and Dignity, with his Friends. Having acknowledg'd the Receipt of a Letter from his Excellency, and the Favour he there expreſs'd, both to Sir *William*'s Friends in *Ireland*, and to himſelf; *of which he was equally ſenſible: I doubt not*, added he, *but your Lordſhip will find in the looſe Poſture of Affairs in* Ireland, *a great Subject for your Prudence and Induſtry; in the Application whereof, I wiſh your Lordſhip all Succeſs and Glory, being incapable, at this Diſtance, to make any Reflections on Particulars; either the* Evils *or the* Redreſſes: *Only as an old Servant, I may have the Liberty of putting your Lordſhip in mind of one Point, wherein your Reputation is much concern'd, and upon which, I doubt, you do not much reflect. But if you ſhould continue this luxurious Cuſtom, of getting a luſty Boy every Year, People will think that you live like a voluptuous young Man of twenty Years old, and not like a ſtay'd and wiſe Governor of a Kingdom: Nor am I very well ſatisfy'd my ſelf, whether it be a thing that conſiſts with the Gravity of a Privy-Counſellor, much leſs of a Lord-Lieutenant: but when I conſider, that of a good Race we cannot have too many, I am forc'd to leave my Cenſures, to give your Lordſhip much Joy of your* Iriſhman. Let the true Judges

* *Dated* July 11. N. S. Vol. II. p. 218.

of

of Wit and Humour pronounce, whether this is, what it appears to me, *true Attick Salt*; a Seasoning not very common in modern Writings! Nor is the remaining part of that Letter to my Lord *Berkley*, leſs entertaining: *We have nothing here in Diſcourſe*, continues Sir *William*, *but the ſad and ſurprizing News of* Madame's *Death*; *of which your Lordſhip will have the Particulars from ſo many Hands, that I will not repeat them, nor enter into the general Reflections that are made upon it, in all Places, I think; I am ſure here, without Scruple or Diſpute.* —— *The* Conſtable *is gone for* Spain, *and left his Government (of the* Spaniſh Netherlands) *much as he held it: nor can I judg whether it came from his natural Temper, or ſome contracted Indiſpoſitions; for his Health has been of late the Covert for it. But theſe ſix or eight Months paſt, he has been obſtinate to hear nothing of Buſineſs, returning all that has been offer'd by his neareſt Officers, with* Quieres Matarme * ? *And paſſing his time with his Virginals, his Dwarfs, and his* Gracioſo's, *(or* Favourites.) *Some ſay his Imagination reach'd ſo far, as to raiſe up Spirits and Aſſaſſins when he was alone. If* Spain *has no greater Men, 'tis pity they have ſo great Uſe of them; for I'm ſure,* Non tali Auxilio nec Defenſoribus iſtis Tempus eget. *He has left the Government, for the Interim, by the Queen Regent's Order, to the Count* De Monterey, *whom he hated; and I hear Count* Marſyn *ſays, he will not obey a Man,* Qui ne fait que de naitre †; *becauſe he is but Twenty Five Years old. But they have ſucceeded ſo ill with one,* Qui ne ſongeoit qu' à mourir ‖, *that, I think, it will not paſs for a very juſt Exception; and our Friend Count* Marſyn, *who is but at hand, will, I hope, come to himſelf, and help to keep all things quiet in* Flanders *till Don* Juan's *Ar-*

* Spaniſh for, Will you kill me? † That is, Who is but just born. ‖ Who thought of nothing but dying.

rival, which is now talk'd of; but I am not the eaſieſt to believe it.

One of the moſt viſible Alterations that appear'd in the Court of *England*, ſoon after their ſecret Engagement with *France*, was the *Perſecuting of the Diſſenters at Home*; of which Sir *William Temple*, tho a zealous Church-man, took notice to Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, in ſuch a manner as ſhew'd the Danger of that Counſel. *I am ſorry*, ſays he *, *the Buſineſs of* Conventicles *gives you ſo much Trouble, and could wiſh we were at a good End of all ſuch Controverſies; which make his Majeſty appear abroad to have ſo* great *and* conſiderable a *Number of Subjects, that have not learnt to obey him; and conſequently make up no part of his Strength, but ſeem rather, either to leſſen it; and amuſe People both at Home and Abroad, with Imaginations of Changes. Yet Monſieur* Van Beuningen *has repreſented it hither, as his Majeſty will eaſier maſter, than you ſeem to be confident of. But their Intereſt here may help them to believe as well as to deſire it; upon the Expectation of ſo many* Perſons *and* Stocks, *as will be brought over to them upon this Occaſion; and makes, as they ſuppoſe, a conſiderable Increaſe of their Trade, and Diminution of ours.* By which Sir *William* gave ſufficiently to underſtand, that the Spirit of Perſecution is altogether inconſiſtent with ſound Politicks.

About this time Sir *William* thought to have us'd his Majeſty's leave for a ſhort Journey into *Flanders*, whither he was preſs'd to go by the States, to ſettle a good Correſpondence between the new Governor and Count *Marſyn*. But beſides the Shadow of the *Surinam* Buſineſs; *which*, he ſaid †, *haunted him ſtill*; he was put upon a difficult piece of Work; which was, the Apprehending three *Scotch* Miniſters that ſculk'd in *Holland*; and a few Days after

* Ubi ſupra, p. 229. † Ubi ſupra, p. 241.

he was alſo more particularly charg'd to ſeize and ſecure Cornet *Joyce*, the Perſon that remov'd by Force King *Charles* I. from *Holmby*-Caſtle, who liv'd in *Rotterdam*; and for the tranſporting of whom into *England*, one of the King's Yachts had been purpoſely ſent to *Holland*. But tho Sir *William* purſu'd this Affair with all imaginable Zeal and Diligence *; inſomuch, that he went himſelf to *Rotterdam*, and ſat up two Nights without Sleep, yet it was not in his Power to ſucceed in it: The Magiſtrates alledging, 'That it was abſolutely againſt the Privileges of their Town, to 'ſeize upon any Man without a particular Charge 'being ready againſt him: That this Man, they 'heard, was a kind of mad, extravagant Fellow: 'That having long reſided in their Town, he could 'be guilty of nothing againſt his Majeſty, unleſs it 'were of Words; which People were very free of 'in their Country; and amounted not to a Crime 'that was thought to deſerve Impriſonment. That 'they ſhould have been glad to know the Words 'he was accus'd of: That if they ſhould ſeize a 'Man without any particular Charge, the Surety 'and Protection of their Town would be diſcredited, upon which much of their Trade depended: 'And that they were confident, no Town in *Holland* would do what was deſir'd of them.' This Diſappointment was ſo reſented by the Court of *England*, that it was put in competition with the Umbrage the *Dutch* entertain'd, upon the Duke of *Buckingham*'s extraordinary Embaſſy to *France*, ſoon after *Madame*'s Death. 'I thank you, ſaid the Earl 'of † *Arlington* to Sir *William Temple* upon that 'Occaſion, *for the Tranſcript of your Letter concerning Cornet* Joyce. *But I cannot but ſuſpect there*

* Ubi ſupra, p. 243. & ſeq.

† *See his Letters*, Vol. I. p. 450. *dated* Aug. 9. O. S.

'jeſty's Senſe and Intentions upon this Conjuncture.' After this Monſieur *De Wit* and the other Commiſſioners, enlarg'd upon the great Importance of the Seizure of *Lorrain*; and communicated to Sir *William*, both the Account they had receiv'd, of all the *French* Preparations at Sea, and the preſent State of their own Fleet, of which they gave him a Liſt. Sir *William Temple* gave an exact Account of all this to the Earl of *Arlington*: Adding, 'That by all he could 'gather from their Diſcourſes, he judg'd they were 'capable of any vigorous Reſolution that his Ma'jeſty ſhould think fit to inſpire them with, in con'junction with *England*: But that without it they 'were reſolv'd, as they expreſs'd it, * *De laiſſer 'agir le Bon Dieu, & de voir la* France *à leurs Portes 'ſans ſe remuer.* Upon all which they ſaid, that 'the Diſpoſal and BALLANCE at this time, of 'all Affairs in theſe parts of *Chriſtendom*, lay before 'his Majeſty; from whom the Empire and *Spain*, 'as well as *Sweden* and the States-General, might 'receive their Meaſures.' He alſo acquainted the Earl, that three Days before, the Baron *D'Iſola* communicated to him a Letter from the *Emperor*, declaring his Reſolution to join with the *Triple Alliance*, in the Guaranty of the Peace of *Aix*. In anſwer to all which, Sir *William Temple* receiv'd the following Letter from † his Lordſhip.

My Lord, Windſor-Caſtle, *Sept.* 1. 1670. *O. S.*

'I Have your Excellency's of the 2d N. S. wherein 'you give me a particular Account of the manner 'of the States Commiſſioners coming to you, and the 'Subſtance of Monſieur *De Wit*'s Diſcourſe at the head 'of them; both marking the Surpriſe and Trouble

* *That is*, To leave it to God, and to ſee the *French* at their Gates, without ſtirring a Foot.

† *See the Earl of* Arlington's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 451.

'they

'they were in, upon the *French* King's Invaſion and
'Poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*. Which I do not wonder
'at, conſidering how valuable and advantageous
'a Nation that is, towards their poſſeſſing the Re-
'mainder of the *Spaniſh-Netherlands*: the dividing
'them from the Succour of one another, and the
'frighting the neighbour Princes from entring into
'any Confederation for their Succour. And this
'is truly the Reflection his Majeſty makes upon
'this Action. But, on the other ſide, he knows
'not well what to ſay, or how to expoſtulate up-
'on it, till he hears what his moſt Chriſtian Ma-
'jeſty will ſay to the World upon it: What the
'Duke of *Lorrain* will ſay for himſelf; and, in a
'word, how the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and
'the neighbouring Princes will reſent it. Which
'was the Effect of my Diſcourſe to Meſſieurs *Borſet*
'and *Van Beuningen*, who came hither to ſpeak
'with me upon it, but ſtaid not to ask an Audi-
'ence of the King; foreſeeing, as they ſaid well,
'that his Majeſty would not think fit to ſpeak ha-
'ſtily, or without much Thought and Advice upon
'a matter of ſuch Importance. Now becauſe, at
'the ſame time with yours, there came another
'Letter to me from the Baron *D'Iſola*; wherein he
'ſays, he receiv'd Letters from the Emperor, de-
'claring his purpoſe to enter into the *Guaranty*
'of the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in the pure
'Terms of the ſaid Peace, as a new *Member*
'or *Ally* — whereas we were told long ago, he
'had Powers to this effect (tho others, who
'ought to have known it, ſaid as confidently he
'had not) for this reaſon; for the Delay of *Spain*'s
'accommodating it ſelf to the Arbitrage in the
'Terms it can only take effect; for this new Affair
'of *Lorrain*, and for many Conſiderations ariſing
'to his Majeſty, out of the whole Contexture of
'your Negotiation in that Country; his Majeſty
'commands

commands me to let you know *his Pleaſure, that, without Delay, upon Receipt of this, you come privately into* England, *leaving your Houſe ſtanding there in the Form it is*, acquainting Monſieur *De Wit* therewith; as alſo of his Majeſty's purpoſe to ſend you ſpeedily back again. And to this purpoſe I am commanded to write to the Baron *D'Iſola*, to give him the Opportunity of opening to you, what he hath truly, and with ſufficient Authority, to ſay to you upon this Subject he mentions, or any other. Whatever the Succeſs of your Journey be, I ſhall be very glad to embrace you, and confirm to you the unfeigned Profeſſion I have ever made, of being, Yours, *&c.*'

'*P. S.* Here enclos'd I write, by his Majeſty's Command, to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, to know when he would have the Yachts go for him, to bring him into *England*.'

Sir *William Temple* imparted his Orders to Monſieur *De Wit*, whom he found at firſt * very penſive, upon the News of it; and apt to reflect upon this happening ſo ſoon and unexpectedly after the Seizure of *Lorrain*; and both after the many Delays and Difficulties rais'd by *England*, in admitting the Emperor to the Guaranty of the Treaty of *Aix*, which the *Engliſh* Court formerly ſo much deſir'd. He remembred the many Inſtances *England* had made about ſuch a Trifle, as the carrying their Planters from *Surinam*, whom he took, by the Articles, to become Subjects of *Holland*; and the invincible Difficulties in which they had engag'd Matters between the two *Eaſt-India* Companies: In which, he ſaid, he was ſure the *Engliſh* Merchants had no part, but as they *were inſtigated by ſome Perſons at Court*; whoſe ill Intentions he fear'd towards the late Alliances, both for the mutual Safety of *England* and

* Ubi ſupra, p. 278.

Holland,

Holland, and that of all *Chriſtendom*. He reflected upon a Coldneſs in all the Negotiations of that kind, ever ſince *Madame*'s Journey into *England*; and upon the late Journey of the Duke of *Buckingham* to *Paris*, which he could not think was *to ſee the Country, or learn the Language*: and deſir'd his Excellency (Sir *William*) would tell him, what he could make of all this laid together? For on the one ſide there were Circumſtances enough to awake a ſuſpicious Man; and on the other ſide, he could never think it poſſible for any Nation, or Court it ſelf, to quit ſo certain a Point of Intereſt and great Point of HONOUR, as *muſt be forfeited* by ENGLAND'S BREAKING their ALLIANCES with HOLLAND, or ENTRING into any *with* FRANCE. That Sir *William* knew beſt of any, how his Majeſty had engag'd the *States* in the late Meaſures, and prevail'd with them to ſacrifice the ancient Kindneſs and Alliance they had always before with *France*, to the Conſiderations of the preſent Danger from the Greatneſs of that Crown; tho *they might have had what Terms they pleas'd for the dividing of* Flanders. That Sir *William* knew with what inviolable Faith and Firmneſs the States had conſtantly obſerv'd for the two Years paſt their Friendſhip and Alliances with his Majeſty; and what great part his Excellency had in contracting and purſuing them, by the particular Confidence the States, and he eſpecially, had in his Perſon, as one that was perſuaded of their common Intereſts, that knew his Maſter's Mind, and would not be an Inſtrument to deceive thoſe that truſted him. For theſe Reaſons, Monſieur *De Wit* deſir'd to know his Excellency's Opinion upon this whole matter, eſpecially that of his Journey into *England*; which would be very ſurprizing to every body in *Holland*, and therefore he would be glad to give the News of it to the States in the beſt manner he could.

Sir *William* proteſted to him, 'That he had hitherto 'receiv'd conſtant Aſſurances from both the Secre- 'taries of State, of his Majeſty's Reſolutions, to ob- 'ſerve conſtantly the Meaſures he was engag'd in to 'that *State*; and that he knew not a word more of 'the Reaſons of his ſudden Journey into *England*, 'than what he had told him. That he had Orders to 'leave his Family behind him; and that his Majeſty 'might poſſibly think it neceſſary, for his Infor- 'mation, to ſpeak with him upon the preſent Con- 'junctures; and to ſend him back immediately, 'according to my Lord *Arlington*'s Letters. That 'he confeſs'd, he was apt to make many of thoſe 'Reflections that Monſieur *De Wit* had done; but 'could not believe it poſſible for any Crown ever 'to enter into *Counſels ſo deſtructive to their* HO- 'NOUR *or* SAFETY as thoſe he ſuſpected. That 'if ſuch a thing ſhould ever happen, he deſir'd him 'to remember what he had told him, upon the 'Scruples Monſieur *De Wit* made, of *truſting* the 'Court of *England* upon the Negotiations of the 'Triple Alliance: Which was, *That he told him then 'what he thought of his Majeſty's Diſpoſitions and Reſo- 'lutions, as well as thoſe of his Miniſters: that he could 'not believe it poſſible for them to change in point of 'ſo evident Intereſt, and which would be ſo underſtood 'by the whole Nation. That however he* (Sir Wil- liam) *could anſwer for no body beſides himſelf; but 'this he would: and that if ever ſuch a thing ſhould 'happen, he would never have any part in it.* That 'he had told the King ſo, as well as him, and 'would make it good. That for the preſent, 'there was nothing more to be ſaid, but that he 'muſt go away for *England*; that if he return'd he '(Mr. *De Wit*) would know more: but he doubted 'by what Mr. *De Wit* ſaid, that he would gueſs 'more, if he (Sir *William*) return'd not.' Mon- ſieur *De Wit* ſmil'd, and ſaid, his Excellency was

in the right; That, in the mean time, he would try to cure himſelf and others of all Suſpicions upon his Journey; and would hope on t'other ſide, it might be of uſe to the common Intereſts, by poſſeſſing his Majeſty of the great Importance of the late Seizure of *Lorrain*, and of the States Reſolutions to ſtick cloſe to him in all Meaſures he ſhould take upon it. And ſo they parted.

I have dwelt the longer on the account of this laſt Conference, becauſe it ſhews, that the two greateſt Politicians which *England* and *Holland* ever bore, perfectly agreed both as to the mutual and common Intereſt of the two Nations; and in their Opinion, that none but a *corrupt unſound Miniſtry* will adviſe the *Britiſh* Monarch to BREAK ALLIANCES with *Holland*, or enter into any with *France*.

Sir *William Temple* would have gone away immediately upon the Summons he receiv'd; but being taken very ill, and uncertain whether it would end in a Fever, as it ſeem'd to begin, he was forc'd to delay his Journey for ſome Days. Upon his Arrival * in *London*, he went immediately † to my Lord *Arlington*, according to his Cuſtom: But whereas, upon his ſeveral Journeys over in the late Conjunctures, his Lordſhip had ever quitted all Company to receive him, and always did it with *open Arms*, and in the kindeſt manner, he now made Sir *William* ſtay an Hour and half in an outward Room before he came to him, while he was in private with the Lord *Aſhley*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftſbury*; and then receiv'd him with a Coldneſs, at which Sir *William* was ſurpriz'd: ſo that after a quarter of an Hour's Talk about indifferent matters, and not a word of the Occaſion of Sir *William*'s being ſent for over, the latter went away. However, the next Morning Sir *William* went to him a-

* Sept. 19. O. S. † Ubi ſupra, p. 293.

gain, desiring to be brought by him to kiss the King's Hand. But the Earl of *Arlington* perform'd that part of his Office without much Ceremony, bringing Sir *William* to his Majesty as he was walking in the Mall in St. *James*'s Park; where the King stop'd to give Sir *William* his Hand, ask'd him half a dozen Questions about his Journey, and about the Prince of *Orange*, and so walk'd on. After this, neither the King nor the Lord *Arlington* spoke about any Business to Sir *William*; tho he was as often in their way as agreed with such an ill Courtier as he was, or a Man not in the Secret, as he found himself to be. After he had kiss'd the King's Hand, he went to see the Lord Keeper, and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*: and found the first uneasy, and apprehensive of the present Counsels; the last confident that no Endeavours could break the Measures between *England* and *Holland*; because they were esteem'd so necessary Abroad, and so rational at Home. But Sir *William*, who had more Penetration than either of them, perceiv'd them both to be barely in the Skirts of Business, and only in Right of their Posts: And that in the Secret of it, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Arlington*, the Lord *Ashley*, and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, compos'd the Ministry.

It is to be observ'd, that however different Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Thomas Clifford* had always been in their Schemes of Government, and other matters, especially concerning the Alliance with *Holland*; so that there never was any Commerce between them further than common Civility: yet upon Sir *William*'s coming over, Sir *Thomas* receiv'd him with wonderful Graciousness and Civility; and some time after desir'd a private Conference with him, about the Affairs of *Holland*. Being both met accordingly, Sir *Thomas* began with great Compliments on Sir *William*'s Services to the King, in his

Employments Abroad; went on with the Neceſſity of preſerving their Meaſures with *Holland*; and concluded with wondring, why the *States* ſhould have ſhew'd ſo much Difficulty upon thoſe two Affairs, of *Surinam* and the *Eaſt-India* Company, wherein our Demands ſeem'd ſo reaſonable; and how it came about that Sir *William*, had fail'd in compaſſing his Majeſty's Satisfaction in thoſe two Matters, after having ſucceeded ſo well in all his other Negotiations. Sir *William*, thinking he did not underſtand the Detail of thoſe Affairs, deduc'd it to him, with the *Dutch* Reaſons, which to him ſeem'd to be but too well grounded. Sir *Thomas* was unſatisfy'd with them all, and told Sir *William* he muſt undertake that matter again, and bring it to a period: and ask'd him, Whether he did not think he could bring the *Dutch* to *Reaſon?* Sir *William* anſwer'd plainly, *He believ'd he never could to what Sir* Thomas Clifford *call'd ſo*; and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it: That he had ſpent all his Shot in vain, and therefore thought their beſt way would be to employ ſome Perſon in it, that had more Wit and Ability than himſelf. Upon this Sir *Thomas* grew a little mov'd: And reply'd, 'That for Wit and Ability they all knew 'he had enough; and all the Queſtion was, Whe-'ther he was willing to employ them upon this 'Occaſion, which ſo much concern'd the King's Ser-'vice, and the Honour of the Nation?' Hereupon Sir *William* told him, how he had us'd his utmoſt Endeavours in it already; how many Repreſentations he had made to the States; how long and particular Accounts he had given to the King and his Miniſters, all to no purpoſe: And being a little heated, after ſo long and unpleaſant a Diſcourſe, ask'd him; *In the Name of God, what he thought a Man could do more?* To this, in a great Rage,

Rage, Sir *Thomas* answer'd: *Yes, * I'll tell you what a Man might do more, and what you ought to do more; which is, to let the King and all the World know, how basely and unworthily the States have us'd him; and to declare publickly, how their Ministers are a Company of* ROGUES † *and* RASCALS, *and not fit for his Majesty, or any other Prince to have any thing to do with: And this is a Part that no body can do so well as you.* Sir *William Temple*'s Answer was very calm, 'That he was not a Man fit for Declarations; that 'whenever he did upon any Occasions, he should 'speak of all Men what he thought of them; and 'so he should do of the *States*, and the Ministers 'he had dealt with in *Holland*; which was all he 'could say of the Business: and so their Conversa-'tion ended.'

Upon all these Passages, and some others that could not escape Sir *William Temple*'s Observation, he fix'd his Judgment of the Affairs and Counsels then in agitation; and foreseeing *Weather* ‖ *coming that he should have no mind to go Abroad in, he therefore resolv'd to get a warm House over his Head: and neither apprehend any uneasiness of Mind or Fortune in the private Life he propos'd to himself; unless some* Revolutions *should draw both upon him: which could not touch him alone, and must be born like a common Calamity.* With these Thoughts of retiring wholly from publick Affairs, Sir *William* resolv'd to make *his Nest*, as he call'd it, as pleasant and commodious as he could afford it: and for that purpose, enlarg'd and beautify'd his House and Gardens at *Sheen*; towards which Expence his Father, Sir *John Temple*, made him a Present of 500 *l.* He did not offer at any of those Advantages his Friends

* Sir W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 297.

† *A favourite Expression of a Modern Minister of State, of the same Stamp, when he has occasion to talk of the* Dutch.

‖ Ubi supra, p. 298.

thought

thought he might make, upon such a Retreat, of the King's Favour or good Opinion, by soliciting either a Pension or any other Employment: For he thought, as was hinted before, the Honour and Pay of the Posts he had been in, sufficient for the best Services of them; and if he had Credit left with the *present Ministers*, to get what was owing him upon his Embassy, he thought himself enough rewarded; considering how *different a Value* was now like to be put upon his Services in *Holland*, from what there was when they were perform'd. He wish'd the Court would have ended his Embassy in Form, and given him leave to send over for his Wife and Family; but the Ministers were, for some Months, unwilling to do either: of which Sir *William* easily apprehended the Reason, and went through as well as he could; tho his Expence at the *Hague* was still great, and his Hopes little of getting his Pay, as he found Affairs go in the *Treasury*, where all was dispos'd in a manner, by Sir *Thomas Clifford*, a Man entirely devoted to the *Popish* and *French* Interest. XXX

All this while the *Dutch* were not a little uneasy at Sir *William Temple*'s Absence; nor did they omit any Occasion of enquiring into his Return. Monsieur *De Wit* having one day * put that Question to Mr. *Blaithwait*, his Excellency's Secretary at the *Hague*, his Answer was, *He could not yet assure him of any certain time, but that he thought it would be very shortly.* To which Monsieur *De Wit* reply'd, 'That it was doubted there very much: That he 'knew the PARLIAMENT was very zealous for 'the common Interests; but that the COURT was 'not over-much dispos'd to them. That, how'ever, they had made one *last Effort* in a Letter to 'his Majesty; wherein they offer'd to make as

* March 9. 1671. N. S. ubi supra, *p.* 354, 355.

'strict

ſtrict an Alliance as could be deſir'd; and that they took the *Abſence* or *Return* of Sir *William Temple*, for an infallible Proof of the *good* or *bad Will* of *England*. He deſir'd Mr. *Blaithwait* to make his Excellency his Compliments, and tell *him this from him*: Which he did accordingly, adding, That the *Dutch* had of late generally conceiv'd ſo ill an Opinion of *England*'s Intentions, that they quite deſpair'd of any Succour from thence; and therefore put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. Not long after, Monſieur *De Wit* wrote * a complimental Letter to Sir *William Temple*, which he anſwer'd in this manner:

SIR, *Sheen*, July 25. 1671.

WITH yours of the 14th Inſtant, I receiv'd the Marks you were pleas'd to give me, of your Remembrance and Friendſhip, which I value as they deſerve; and as coming from a Perſon who has already acquir'd the Eſteem of all the World, and by that, the Right of doing much Honour to others, to whom he gives any Teſtimony of his own. I can pretend to no other ſhare in it, than what your Generoſity gives me, and am afraid this may do your Judgment ſome Injury. But knowing that your good Opinion of me is ſolely founded upon your knowledg of my good Intentions, I will defend my ſelf no longer; for, after all, in this Age, there is ſo little Credit in being a Good Man, that few are ſuſpected of employing their Vanity about it, any more than their Purſuits. I ſhall quit my Reſidence at the Hague *with much Regret, if I had the Opinion you would have me entertain of my ſelf: For my part, I think I ſhould be altogether uſeleſs there, and find I am much fitter for making a good* Gardiner, *than* an able Miniſter. *However, I ſhall ever bear much Reſpect and Eſteem to thoſe who are well qualify'd for the latter;*

* July 14. N. S. 1671.

which

Which is ſufficient to let you underſtand, that I ſhall never fail of either for your Perſon in particular; any more than of my Acknowledgments for your Civilities to me at the Hague, *whereof I ſhall ever preſerve the Remembrance, as well as the Paſſion wherewith I am, SIR,* &c.

About this time * Sir *William Temple* obtain'd leave of the King, to ſend for his Wife and Family; and alſo of writing to the *States* and to Monſieur *De Wit*, to take his Leave † of them, and end his Embaſſy, as upon his own Deſire and private Occaſions: which were indeed enough to engage him in that purſuit, conſidering the Charge of maintaining an Ambaſſador's Family at the *Hague*, while his Payments at the *Exchequer* went ſo lame. Beſides this, he had other Reaſons which he kept to himſelf: For ſoon after his coming over, his Lady wrote to him, that Monſieur *Gioe*, the *Daniſh* Envoy there, had told her in Confidence, and out of Kindneſs to Sir *William Temple*, That Monſieur *De Pompone*, the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, had acquainted him, that new Meaſures were taken between the *Engliſh* Court and that of *France*; among which one was, That Sir *William* ſhould be recall'd, and return no more. In the mean time, the Court of *England* being acquainted with what Monſieur *De Wit* had told Mr. *Blaithwait*, That the States ſhould take Sir *William*'s Stay or Return, for certain ſigns of the King's Intentions towards their State; they were unwilling to make a Declaration, by recalling his Excellency, of what they intended upon this Occaſion, before all things neceſſary were more fully agreed or better concerted with *France*: And therefore they not only continu'd Sir *William Tem-*

* July 1671.

† *Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 302. & ſeq.

ple's Family at the *Hague* for ſo many Months, but ſtill amus'd the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors with the Talk of his Return thither.

In *July* 1671. the *Dutch* Fleet was floating in the Channel; to ſhew, as Sir *William* ſuppos'd, that they were in a Condition to meet any of thoſe Dangers they began long before to ſuſpect from the Motions of *France*, and from the late Conduct of *England*. When the Captain of the Yacht, that was appointed to bring over the *Engliſh* Embaſſadreſs, took his Leave at Court, he had publick Orders given him, if he came in ſight of the *Dutch* Fleet, he ſhould ſail through them, and ſhoot at thoſe Ships that were next him; either till he made them ſtrike Sail, or till they ſhot at him again, and then purſue his Courſe. He paſs'd, it ſeems, into *Holland*, without ſeeing them; but as he return'd he met the Fleet, and ſailing through them, made ſeveral Shot at thoſe near him: Upon which they ſeeming, at leaſt, not to know what he meant, and to believe he might be in ſome Diſtreſs, the Admiral ſent a Boat aboard him to inquire. The Captain told them, that he had been ſent to bring back the *Engliſh* Embaſſadreſs with her Family from *Holland*; and had Orders to make the *Dutch* Fleet ſtrike, where-ever he met them in the Channel: Upon which Meſſage by the Boat, Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* went himſelf aboard the Yacht, as upon a Compliment to the Lady *Temple*. Afterwards he deſir'd to ſpeak with the Captain, of whom he inquir'd the Reaſon of his ſhooting; and receiving the ſame Anſwer, he ſaid it was a Point they had receiv'd no Order in from their Maſters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed between his Majeſty and the *States*. But tho it were ſettled, yet the Captain could not pretend the Fleet and Admiral ſhould ſtrike to a Yacht; which was but a Pleaſure-Boat, and could not paſs for one of the

King's

King's Men of War. The Captain ſaid, he had his Orders, and was bound to follow them. After Myn Heer *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain, in great Perplexity, came to the Lady *Temple*, and deſir'd to know, what ſhe pleas'd he ſhould do in the Caſe? Which ſhe ſaw he did not like very well, and would be glad to get out of by her Help. The Embaſſadreſs told him, he knew his Orders beſt, and what he was to do upon them; which ſhe left him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her Children. He purſu'd his Courſe, and landed her ſafe: after which ſhe went to Court, and was well receiv'd, and much commended for her part in what had paſs'd: And at Night Sir *Lionel Jenkins* was ſent to take her Examination in Form, upon the whole Matter of Fact. When Sir *William* went next to the King's Levee, his Majeſty began to ſpeak of his Wife's Carriage at Sea, and to extol it as much as he blam'd the Captain's; ſaying, *She had ſhew'd more Courage than he:* and then fell upon the *Dutch* Inſolence. Sir *William* ſaid, That *however matters went, it muſt be confeſs'd that there was ſome Merit in his Family, ſince he had made the* ALLIANCES *with* Holland, *and his Wife was like to have the Honour of making the* WAR. The King ſmil'd, as well as Sir *William*, who rightly judg'd this the only way to turn the Diſcourſe into good Humour. When he went into the King's Cloſet, he deſir'd to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand upon the end of his Embaſſy; which the King gave him very graciouſly, and told him, *He had all the reaſon that could be, to be ſatisfy'd with his Services.* And upon Sir *William*'s deſire, that his Majeſty would give him ſome Help in the Diſpatch of his Payments due from the *Exchequer*, ſince he was reſolv'd to ask him nothing elſe, and had been at ſo great Expence to maintain his Family at the *Hague* ſo long, without their Help: His Majeſty told him,

He would ſpeak to the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury to do him juſtice, and in the mean time would give him the Place belonging to his Embaſſy: For which he return'd his humble Thanks to the King, who ſeem'd very much pleas'd to ſee he took it kindly, and was ſo eaſily contented. *Thus*, ſays Sir *William* *, *ended in Smoak, an Adventure which had for almoſt three Years made ſo much Noiſe in the World; reſtor'd and preſerv'd ſo long the general Peace; and left his Majeſty the Arbitrage of all Affairs among our Neighbours, by the* Emperor *and* Spain's *Reſolutions, as well as* Sweden *and* Holland's, *to follow his Meaſures for the common Safety and Peace of* Chriſtendom.

The *Dutch* Miniſters at the *Engliſh* Court, began to ſmell the Powder after the Captain's ſhooting, and knew not what Countenances to ſet upon the matter; but were ſoon after recall'd. All People, in the mean time, were full of the Expectations of what would be next: And as for Sir *William Temple*, he retir'd to his Country-Seat at *Sheen*, where he reſolv'd to run the Fortune of his Country like a private Man, and to paſs the remainder of his Life as quietly and innocently as he could, in the *Culture* and *Improvement* of his *Mind* and *Garden*.

Tho the *Dutch* were alarm'd † at Sir *George Downing*'s being ſent over upon the ending of Sir *William Temple*'s Embaſſy, yet they thought it was deſign'd only to fright them into ſome great Payments, as he had endeavour'd to do before the firſt War began; ſo that they were ſtill in hopes, that if our common Intereſt and Treaties ſhould not hold us, yet they might at leaſt *buy* our Friendſhip. Therefore the States treated Sir *George Down-*

* Ubi ſupra, p. 307.

† Sir W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 310.

ing

ing with all Reſpect and Civility; tho the common People were hardly kept in order, upon their old Hatred to him; which was well known in *England* before he went: For when the King named him for that Employment, one of the Council ſaying, *The Rabble will tear him in pieces*; the King ſmil'd, and ſaid, *Well, I'll venture him.* But, it ſeems, Sir *George* was ſo wiſe as not to venture himſelf; for he came away in a Fright, without Leave or Orders: And that was the Occaſion of his being ſent to the *Tower* upon his * Arrival; which diſappointed ſome Ends deſign'd by his Journey. And, indeed, none got much by it but Sir *William Temple*, who had the good Fortune to put off his Houſe at the *Hague*, with a great deal of his Furniture, to Sir *George Downing* at his going over. However, this Advantage was but ſmall, in compariſon of what he loſt on this Occaſion, by the ſhutting up † of the *Exchequer*, which ſunk all the Mony he had in Alderman *Backwell's* hands: ſo that he was above two thouſand Pounds the worſe for his Embaſſy. This Counſel was carry'd on ſo ſecretly, that no Man at Court had ſufficient Warning to call in his Mony out of the Bankers hands; till Sir *Thomas Clifford* propos'd the thing in Council, without other Circumſtance than ſaying, 'That 'twas neceſſary the 'King ſhould have Mony upon the War with *Holland*: That he knew no other way but this; 'and deſir'd none would ſpeak againſt it, without 'propoſing ſome better and eaſier way.' Upon this nothing more was ſaid; the thing paſs'd; and being immediately made publick, 'twas too late for any Man to call in his Mony: which made the Loſs and Complaint very general, as well as particular to Sir *William Temple*.

* Febr. 7. 167½. † Jan. 2. 167½.

167½ this War with Holland made Sr Tho: Clifford shut up the Exchequer; & K. Charles 2 entred on the Design of the War with

As King *Charles* II. entred upon the Deſign of a ſecond War with *Holland*, without the Advice or Conſent of his Parliament, (which, by a Proclamation of the 22d of *September*, 1671. was farther prorogu'd from *April* 16. till *October* 30. 1672.) ſo was his Majeſty oblig'd to carry it on without their Aſſiſtance; and to depend upon the Purſe of his Brother the King of *France*, for the Charge of fitting out his Royal Navy. Monſieur *Colbert*, to eaſe his Maſter of part of that great Expence, adviſ'd his *Britannick* Majeſty to ſeize the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet; which would ſupply him at once with more Mony than the Parliament was ever like to give him in ſeveral Seſſions. The King and his corrupt Miniſters approv'd the Overture, and the World was aſtoniſh'd at the *Engliſh* Declaration of War againſt *Holland*; firſt, by Matter of Fact, in falling on * their *Smyrna* Fleet: and in conſequence of that, (however that diſhonourable Attempt fail'd) by a formal Manifeſto, ſetting forth the Reaſons or rather Pretences of the Quarrel; whilſt the *French* contented themſelves to give no other for their Share in it, than only the Glory of their Monarch. The *Dutch* could never be poſſeſs'd with a Belief that the *Engliſh* were in earneſt, till the Blow was given; but thought his *Britannick* Majeſty's Unkindneſs and Expoſtulations of late, would end at laſt in Demands of Mony, or the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſtoration to all the Dignities of his Predeceſſors. The Princes concern'd in the Safety of *Holland*, could not imagine, that after having ſav'd *Flanders* out of the hands of the *French*, his Majeſty would ſuffer *Holland* to fall into the ſame Danger. And my Lord *Arlington* told Sir *William Temple*, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themſelves, till the Blow was ſtruck in the Attack of

* March 13. and 14. 1672.

the *Smyrna* Fleet: Upon which they immediately ſet out their Declaration, and began their Invaſion; which was the more ſucceſsful, as it was the leaſt expected. In order to ſtop the Torrent of the *French* Victories, the States-General thought fit to advance the Prince of *Orange* to the Office and Power of Stadtholder; which was, ſoon after, attended with the Tragical end of Monſieur *John De Wit*, and his Brother. At the ſame time, Monſieur *Fagel* was made Penſioner of *Holland*, whoſe Love for his Country made him a Lover of the Prince, as believing it * could not be ſav'd by any other Hand; and whoſe Zeal to his own Religion made him irreconcilable to *France*; whoſe Profeſſions as well as Deſigns, were to deſtroy it.

This Revolution, as it calm'd all at Home, ſo it made the firſt Appearance of defending what was left of the Country. The State grew united, the Army in Heart, and foreign Princes began to take Confidence in the Honour and Conſtancy of the young Prince; which they had in a manner wholly loſt, upon the Diviſions and Misfortunes of the State. The *French* themſelves turn'd all their Applications and Practices the ſame way, and made the Prince all the Offers that could be, of Honour and Advantage to his Perſon and Family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The Bait, they thought, could not fail of being ſwallow'd; and about which moſt Artifice was employ'd, was, the Propoſal of making his Highneſs Sovereign of the Seven Provinces, under the Protection of *England* and *France*. And, to ſay truth, when ſo little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in ſo eminent Danger upon the firſt Froſts, this ſeem'd a Lure to which a meaner Soul than that of the Prince might

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 23. & ſeq.

very well ſtoop: But his was above it; and his Anſwers always firm, That *he would never betray a Truſt that was given him, nor ever ſell the Liberties of his Country, that his Anceſtors had ſo long defended.* Yet the Game he play'd was then thought ſo deſperate, that one of his neareſt Servants told Sir *William Temple*, he had long expoſtulated it with his Maſter, and ask'd him at laſt, How he pretended to live after *Holland* was loſt? To which the Prince anſwer'd, 'He reſolv'd to live upon the Lands he 'had in *Germany*; and that he had rather paſs his 'Life in hunting there, than *ſell his Country or his* 'Liberty to France *at any Price.*'

The rapid Victories of *France* occaſion'd ſuch Murmurings and Complaints in *England*, that the King was oblig'd to iſſue his Proclamation, for *ſuppreſſing that unlawful and undutiful kind of Diſcourſe, by a moſt ſtrict and exemplary Puniſhment of all Perſons, who ſhould be found Spreaders of falſe News, or Promoters of any malicious Slanders and Calumnies in any Coffee-Houſe, or any publick or private Meeting.* But this Proclamation rather irritating, than qualifying the general ill Humour and Diſcontents of the People, a Declaration was publiſh'd in favour of the *Dutch*, *viz.* 'That notwithſtanding the War, 'if any of the *Low-Country* Subjects, either out of 'Affection to his Majeſty or his Government, or 'by reaſon of the Oppreſſion they met with at 'Home from their Governors, ſhould come into 'the King's Dominions, they ſhould be, by his Ma'jeſty, protected in their Perſons and Eſtates; 'his Majeſty continuing in the ſame gracious In'clination towards all ſuch of the Subjects of the 'ſaid *Low-Countries*, as ſhould deſire to deliver 'themſelves from the Calamity and Diſtreſs into 'which the ill Counſels of ſome prevailing Perſons 'in the Government of thoſe Countries had juſtly 'drawn them.'

Under

Under theſe dreadful Apprehenſions the States-General ſent over their Deputies to the King of *England*, to repreſent the common Dangers of *Europe*, in the inevitable Ruin of their own Country; and the Neceſſity of putting a Stop to the violent Progreſs of the *French* Arms. Hereupon the King appointed * the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Arlington* and *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Clifford*, to meet at *Hampton-Court* the *Dutch* Deputies, to know what Propoſals they had to offer to his Majeſty? They reply'd, They had no Power or Inſtructions to make any Offer, but to hear what his Majeſty would demand: Upon which the King appointed the Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Lord *Halifax*, to be his Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries, to treat jointly with ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the moſt Chriſtian King, with any Deputies or Commiſſioners from the States. Theſe Ambaſſadors immediately ſail'd † for *Holland*; were receiv'd at the *Hague* with joyful Acclamations; and proceeded to *Utrecht*, where they found the *French* King in his higheſt Exaltation. 'Twas commonly believ'd in *England* and *Holland*, that the true End or Subject of this Embaſſy, was the Jealouſy the *Engliſh* had, of the *French* Conqueſts going on ſo faſt, whilſt their own went ſo lame; and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to ſtop their Courſe or Extent: but theſe were ſoon daſh'd by the Return of the Ambaſſadors, after having renew'd and faſten'd the Meaſures formerly taken between the two Crowns. However, the Ambaſſadors were content, as they paſs'd thro *Holland*, that the firſt ſhould be thought; which gave Occaſion for a very good Repartee of the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange* to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who paid her a Viſit at the *Hague*; and talking much

* June 20. O. S. † June 23. O. S.

of their being good *Hollanders*, ſhe told him, *That was more than they ask'd; which was only, that they ſhould be* GOOD ENGLISHMEN. He aſſur'd her, they were not only ſo, but good *Dutchmen* too: That indeed they did not uſe *Holland* like a *Miſtreſs*, but they lov'd her like a *Wife*. To which the Princeſs reply'd, *Truly, I think, you love us juſt as you do yours*. 'Tis likewiſe reported that the Duke had a long Conference with the Prince, about the bad Poſture of the Affairs of his Country; and that having us'd many Arguments to him in vain, for the accepting the Sovereignty of it, under the Protection of *England* and *France*, his Grace told him at laſt, *He wonder'd what his Highneſs could propoſe to himſelf in ſuch a deſperate Caſe, ſince, according to the Humour he perſiſted in, he muſt unavoidably ſee the final Ruin of it.* To this the Prince reply'd, *That what his Grace ſaid concerning their dangerous Condition, was indeed true; but yet he had one way ſtill left, not to ſee its Ruin compleated; which was, to lie in the laſt Dyke.* By which he meant, the fighting of it out to the laſt. When *France* had loſt all hopes of ſhocking the Prince of *Orange*'s Conſtancy, they bent all their Thoughts of ſubduing and ruining the remainder of the Country; but his Highneſs with a handful of Men, and the natural Advantages of the Country, put a ſtop to their Career.

After two Summers *, ſpent in a War between *England* and *Holland*, with ſeveral Engagements at Sea, but no deciſive Action; both Parties began to enter upon Thoughts, and, indeed, Neceſſities of a Peace. The Nations had been at War without being Angry; and the Quarrel had been thought on both ſides, rather of the Miniſters than the Peoples. The *Dutch* believ'd it at firſt intended only againſt *De Wit*'s Faction, in favour of the Prince

* Ubi ſupra, *p.* 1. & ſeq.

of

of *Orange*; and in *England* moſt People laid it to the Corruption of the Miniſters, by the Mony of *France*; and ſome, who pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper Deſigns. The Lord *Clifford*'s Violence in beginning it, gave it an ill Air in general, that Lord being a profeſs'd Papiſt; and the diſuſe of Parliaments a cruel Maim in the chief Sinews of War. The Subſidies of *France* bore no proportion to the Charge of the *Engliſh* Fleet: And the Naval Strength of *England* ſeem'd rather leſſen'd than encreas'd by the Conjunction of that of *France*. The *Engliſh* Seamen fought *without Heart*, and were more afraid of their Friends than their Enemies; and the Diſcontents were ſo great at Land, that the aſſembling of the *Militia* to defend the Coaſts, was thought as dangerous as an Invaſion. But that which moſt preſs'd his *Britannick* Majeſty to the Thoughts of a Peace, was the Reſolution of *Spain* to declare War with *England*, as they had done already with *France*, in favour of *Holland*, unleſs the Peace were ſuddenly made; which would have been ſuch a Blow to the ENGLISH TRADE, as could not eaſily have been fenc'd, and loſt *England* that of the *Mediterranean*, as the *Dutch* War had done that of the *Northern* Seas: ſo as the Neceſſity of this Conjuncture was only kept off by the Honour of the Alliance with *France*. However, that Crown being not able to furniſh Supplies enough to carry on the War without a Parliament, could not oppoſe the calling one upon this Occaſion. When the Parliament met *, the Lord-Keeper *Finch*, in a Speech to the Two Houſes, made a large Deduction of the *Dutch* 'Averſeneſs to Peace, their uncivil 'Demeanour to the King's *Plenipotentiaries* at *Co-* 'logne, and how indirectly they dealt with the 'King in all the Overtures of Peace; and there-

* January 7. 167¾.

'fore a neceſſary Supply was demanded.' But both Houſes ſhew'd their Diſcontents at the Progreſs of the *French* Arms, and the Prevalence of *Popiſh* Counſels at Home; and tho the Commons ſeem'd willing to give the King Mony, yet it was to make the Peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the War: For upon his Majeſty's communicating to them an Overture from the States-General, they came to an unanimous * Reſolution, *That his Majeſty be humbly deſir'd to proceed in a Treaty with the ſaid States, in order to a ſpeedy Peace.*

There were too many Parties engag'd in this Quarrel to think of a General Peace, tho a Treaty to that purpoſe had been ſet on foot at *Cologne*, under the Mediation of *Sweden*, between the Miniſters of the Emperor, *Spain*, *Holland*, and ſome Princes of the Empire on the one part, and his *Britannick* Majeſty and *France* on the other; but without the leaſt appearance of Succeſs. For tho all the Confederates had a mind to the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, yet none of them deſir'd it with *France*. This made the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* ſet all their Engines at work, to engage his Majeſty in ſome Treaty of a ſeparate Peace, to which the Neceſſity of his Affairs, the Inclinations of the People, and the Inſtances of his Parliament at laſt determin'd him. The Duke of *Buckingham*, to ingratiate himſelf with the Commons, (whoſe ill Humour began to appear againſt thoſe they eſteem'd the chief Authors of the War) deſir'd leave of that Houſe to be heard there in his own Defence. In his Speech, among many Endeavours to throw the Odium of the War from himſelf on the Earl of *Arlington*, he deſir'd that Lord might be ask'd, Who was the Author of the *Triple Alliance?* The Lord *Arlington* coming afterwards upon the

* January 27.

like

like Deſire, into the ſame Houſe of Commons, and anſwering ſome parts of the Duke's Speech, when he came to that particular, he told them, he could eaſily anſwer that Queſtion of the Duke's, by telling them, That the Author of that Alliance was Sir *William Temple*. This undoubtedly occaſion'd Reflections upon what had paſs'd in the Courſe of Sir *William*'s Embaſſies in *Holland* and at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and ſuggeſted to the King and his Miniſters the thought to ſend for him out of his private Retreat, where he had paſs'd two Years.

On the 12th of *February* 167$\frac{3}{4}$, his Majeſty receiv'd the certain Advice of the States having paſs'd a Reſolution, that the Charges and Dignities poſſeſs'd by the Prince of *Orange* and his Anceſtors, ſhould become Hereditary to his Children. And, at the ſame time, he alſo receiv'd a Letter from the States, with the deſire of Paſſports for the Ambaſſadors they were reſolv'd to ſend to his Majeſty with Inſtructions and Powers to treat and conclude a Peace; and in the mean time they offer'd a Suſpenſion of Arms. This Offer coming upon the neck of the Parliament's Advice to his Majeſty, to enter into a Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador upon the Propoſitions he had advanc'd, and which the King had laid before the Parliament, it was not believ'd by the Miniſters that a Treaty could be refus'd, without drawing too much *Odium* upon themſelves, and Reflection upon the Government. On the other ſide, it was ſuſpected what Practices might be ſet on foot by the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, upon the general Diſcontent againſt the preſent War. Therefore that very Afternoon a Reſolution was taken at the foreign Committee, to ſend, rather than receive an Embaſſy upon this Subject; and that Sir *William Temple* ſhould be the Perſon employ'd. Two Gentlemen were ſent to his Houſe, within half an Hour of one another, from the Earl

of

Sr Wm Temple was sent to by my L. Danby Treasurer & L. Arlington Secretary Aug. 16 74 as the fittest man to conclude a peace, they agreed

of *Danby* Lord High Treasurer, and the Earl of *Arlington* first Secretary of State, to order Sir *William*'s Attendance on the King. My Lord *Arlington* told him, he would not pretend the Merit of having nam'd him upon this Occasion; nor could he well tell, whether the King or Lord Treasurer did it first, but that the whole Committee had join'd in it; and concluded, that since the Peace was to be made, there was no other Person to be thought of: and accordingly the King gave Sir *William* his Commands to prepare for his Journey, with many Expressions of Kindness and Confidence. Sir *William* told the King, he was ready to obey him with a great deal of Pleasure, to see his Majesty returning to the Measures upon which he had formerly serv'd him; but, that he might do it the better, he begg'd of his Majesty that he might go over without the Character of Ambassador, which would delay or embarass him with Preparations of Equipage, and with Ceremonies there, that were unnecessary to so sudden a Dispatch. His Majesty thought what Sir *William Temple* said very pertinent, and so order'd that he should go only as *Plenipotentiary*; but that he should have in all kinds the Appointment of Ambassador; and that he should take upon him the Character too, when the Peace was concluded.

Within three Days Sir *William* was ready; and the Morning his Dispatches were so too, the Marquis of *Frezno*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, sent my Lord *Arlington* word, that he had receiv'd full Power from the States to treat and conclude a Peace, and was ready to enter upon it, whenever his Majesty pleas'd. The Lord *Arlington* surpriz'd, was at first of Opinion the King should go on in his own way, and give the *Spaniards* no part in this Affair: But Sir *William Temple*, who happen'd to be with the Lord *Arlington* when the Message came, was of another Mind; and that besides the Point of Ho-

Sr Wm Temple sent to again by K Charles

nour,

nour, which was clear, in having the Peace made rather at *London*, than at the *Hague*, he thought that of Intereſt might be better purſu'd. Beſides, he believ'd the *Spaniard* would play fair in a Game that he thought ſo much his own, and not ſuffer the *Dutch* to ſtop at any ſmall Points, eſpecially thoſe of Honour; whereof that of the Flag (tho ſuch) was one his Majeſty ought to lay moſt at Heart. The Lord *Arlington* agreed with Sir *William*; who having acquainted the King with it, his Majeſty ſeem'd pleas'd with the Change, and told him, That ſince he did not treat the Peace at the *Hague*, he ſhould however at *London*; and bid him go and acquaint the Marquiſs of *Frezno* with his Reſolution, That if they two could agree upon the Terms, the thing ſhould be done.

The Terms to be inſiſted on were ſoon agreed to by the King at the foreign Committee, which was compos'd of the Lord-Keeper *Finch*, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Henry Coventry* Secretaries of State, with whom his Majeſty order'd Sir *William*'s Attendance upon this Occaſion. When Sir *William* had receiv'd his Inſtructions, he went to the Marquiſs of *Frezno*, and at three Meetings concluded the whole Treaty, with Satisfaction to his Majeſty, and Tranſport to the Marquiſs, upon ſo great an Honour, as he thought it, to himſelf, and the Fortunes he expected upon it from his Maſter. The two Points of greateſt Difficulty were that of the Flag, and the Re-calling of *Engliſh* Troops from the *French* Service. This laſt was compos'd by private Engagements, to ſuffer thoſe that were there to wear out without any Recruits, and permit no new ones to go over; but at the ſame time, to give leave for ſuch Levies as the States ſhould think fit to make in his Majeſty's Dominions, both of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments. The other of the Flag, was carry'd to all the Height

his

his Majesty could wish; and thereby a Claim of the Crown of *England*, the Acknowledgment of its Dominions in the Narrow Seas, allow'd by Treaty to the *English*, from the most Powerful of their Neighbours at Sea; which had never been yielded by the weakest of them, and had serv'd hitherto but for an occasion of Quarrel, whenever either of the two Nations had a mind to it. The Sum of Mony given his Majesty by the States, tho it was not considerable in it self, and less to the King, by the greatest part of it being apply'd to the Prince of *Orange*'s Satisfaction for his Mother's Portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole Honour of the Peace, as the Sum given by the Parliament upon it, and the general Satisfaction of the People, made the Ease of it.

Thus ended our Part of a War, so fatal to the rest of Christendom, in the Consequences of it; which was begun, and carry'd on as far as it would go, under the Ministry of five Men, usually call'd the CABAL; a word unluckily falling out of the five first Letters of their Names; that is, *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Ashley*, and *Lauderdale*. But tho the Counsels of those Men had begun the War with two unusual Strains to the Honour of the Crown, in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet, and the shutting up the Exchequer; yet it must be allow'd them to have succeeded well in the Honours and Advantages they propos'd to themselves: *Clifford* having gain'd by it the Title of a Baron, with the Treasurer's Staff, which he was, however, forc'd to lay down some Months before the Meeting of the Parliament, on account of his being a *Roman* Catholick: *Ashley* (the Earl of *Shaftsbury*) the Chancellor's place, which by the prevalency of the *Popish* Faction, was taken from him: *Arlington* an Earldom, with the *Garter*; and *Lauderdale* a Dukedom with the *Garter*. The Duke of *Buckingham*

being already poſſeſs'd of all the Honours the Crown could give of that kind, made no better Bargain in this matter, than he us'd to do in all others that concern'd him; and ſo pretended no further than Commands in the Army. And thus, inſtead of making ſo great a King as they pretended by this *Dutch* War, and FRENCH ALLIANCE, they made only, (as was ſince done by a PEACE) *Four great Subjects.*

After the Peace was made, the King's firſt Care was to ſoften the ſtroke as much as he could towards *France*; which was done, by repreſenting the Neceſſities of it, (that needed no falſe Colours) and, at the ſame time, to offer his Mediation between the Parties remaining ſtill in War, in caſe *France* either deſir'd or accepted of it; which took up ſome time to determine. In the mean while, Sir *William Temple* continu'd in the thoughts of the private Man he was in before this Revolution, till about a Week after, when the Earl of *Arlington* acquainted him, how kindly the King took both the readineſs he had expreſs'd in going over into *Holland*, and the Pains and Succeſs in the Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; and not knowing any thing better he had to give him, he was reſolv'd to ſend him Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Spain*; and to that purpoſe, immediately to recal Sir *William Godolphin*, the ordinary Ambaſſador there. Sir *William Temple* acknowledg'd the Honour the King intended him, but deſir'd time to give his Anſwer, till he had conſulted his Father, who was then in *Ireland*, and who prov'd ſo violent againſt it, that Sir *William* could not find any Temper to ſatisfy him; and upon it, was forc'd to make his Excuſes to the King. His Majeſty was pleas'd to tell him, 'He did not at all take it ill of him; and that, 'on the contrary, he intended him a better Em-'ployment: That he was at preſent engag'd for

King was to ſoften ye Peace towards France
Sr Wm Temple ſtill continu'd as a private man

'the Secretary's Place, upon the Lord *Arlington*'s 'Promotion to that of Lord-Chamberlain; but that 'he resolv'd the next Removal should be to make 'room for him.' This Sir *William* told the Lord *Arlington*, who presently said, 'That he believ'd 'Sir *William* could not refuse the *Spanish* Embassy, 'but upon Design of the Secretary's Place; and 'since he desir'd it, and the King fell into it of 'himself, he would play the easiest part in it that 'he could: That he was, indeed, agreed with 'Sir *Joseph Williamson* for 6000 *l.* and the King had 'consented that he should enter upon it at his re-'turn from *Cologne*; but yet he made such a dif-'ference between the Persons, that he would find 'some way to avoid it, in case Sir *William Temple* 'would lay down the 6000 *l.*' Sir *William* assur'd his Lordship he had no such design, nor had a Sum of Mony to lay down, while his Father enjoy'd the Estate of the Family: That if he had, he should be very unwilling to pursue it so far, as to give his Lordship any strain in a matter already promis'd and concluded; and therefore desir'd him to think no farther of it. But the Lord *Arlington* was not of Opinion Sir *William* could stick at any thing but the Mony; and acquainted Mr. *Montague* and Mr. *Sidney*, who were Friends to them both, with this Transaction; and set them upon Sir *William* to bring it to an issue, before Sir *Joseph* came over. They both endeavour'd it with great Earnestness; and Mr. *Montague* (the late Duke of that name) was so kind as to offer Sir *William* to lend him the Mony, but the latter was positive in refusing it: yet, at the same time, he told my Lord *Arlington*, that not to seem humorous, in declining the Offers his Lordship had made him from the King, or from himself, if his Majesty had occasion to send an Embassy into *Holland*, he would very willingly serve him there, where he knew the Scene

ſo well: And ſo that matter ſlept for the preſent.

In the mean while, *France* had thought fit to accept the King's Offer of Mediation, that of *Sweden* being ended by the Aſſembly at *Cologne*'s breaking up in Expoſtulations and Quarrels, upon the Emperor's ſeizing the Perſon of Prince *William* of *Furſtembergh*, a Subject of the Empire, but an Inſtrument of *France*, as his Brother, the Biſhop of *Straſburgh*, had been in all the late Deſigns of that Crown upon their Neighbours. Hereupon the King told Sir *William*, that having reſolv'd to offer his Mediation to all the Confederates, as he had done already to *France*, he was reſolv'd to ſend him Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Holland*, as the Scene of their Common Counſels; and that he ſhould have the ſame Allowance he ſhould have had in *Spain*. Upon this Offer, Sir *William Temple* made no Demur, but immediately accepted it; and ſo his Embaſſy was declar'd in *May* 1674.

We muſt here obſerve, that upon the ſtrength of the late Peace between *England* and *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange* concerted with the *German* and *Spaniſh* Troops to begin an Offenſive War; and at the head of above forty Thouſand Men, (a great Army in thoſe Days) to march into *France*. Hereupon the *French* began now to wiſh the War well ended; and his *Britannick* Majeſty, on the other hand, was deſirous to make *France* ſome amends, for making a ſeparate Treaty, by mediating a general Peace. The only difficulties that appear'd in this Affair, were what the Confederates were like to raiſe on accepting the King's Mediation, whoſe late Engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that ſide. And the Houſe of *Auſtria* finding that Crown now abandon'd by *England*, had too greedily ſwallow'd the hopes of a Revenge upon them, to deſire any Treaty, till the Succeſſes they

Sr Wm Temple is sent into Holland Ambr Extraordinary but never expected was made Secretary

expected in the War, might at leaſt make way for reducing *France* to that of the *Pyrenées*.

Sir *William Temple* having * often reflected on the unhappy Iſſue of his laſt publick Employments, and the *fatal Turn of Counſels* in the *Engliſh* Court, that had occaſion'd it, againſt ſo many wiſe Men's Opinions, as well as his own, he reſolv'd, before he went on this Embaſſy, to know the ground on which he ſtood; and in order to that, to ſound the King's true Sentiments and Diſpoſitions, as to the Meaſures he had now taken, and truſt no more to thoſe of his Miniſters, who had deceiv'd either him (Sir *William*) or themſelves. Therefore, at a long Audience in his Majeſty's Cloſet, he took occaſion to reflect upon the Conduct and Miniſtry of the late *Cabal*; *How ill his Majeſty had been adviſ'd to* BREAK MEASURES AND TREATIES SO SOLEMNLY TAKEN AND AGREED; how ill he had been ſerv'd, and how ill ſucceeded, by the violent Humour of the Nation's breaking out againſt ſuch Proceedings; and by the JEALOUSIES of *Arbitrary* and *Popiſh* Counſels, they had rais'd againſt the *Crown*. The King ſaid, 'Twas true, he had ſucceeded ill, but if he had been well ſerv'd he might have made a good Buſineſs enough of it; and ſo went on to juſtify what was paſt. Sir *William Temple* was ſorry to find ſuch a Preſage of what might again return from ſuch a Courſe of Thought in the King, and ſo went to the bottom of that matter. 'He ſhew'd how difficult, if not 'impoſſible, it was to ſet up here the ſame *Reli-* 'gion or *Government* that was in *France*: That the Popery 'univerſal Bent of the Nation was againſt both: 'That many who were, perhaps, indifferent e- 'nough in the matter of Religion, conſider'd it 'would not be chang'd here but by an Army;

* *See his Memoirs*, Part II. p. 30. & ſeq.

Sir Wm Temple gains a long Audience took occaſion to reflect on y Conduct miniſtry of y late Cabal, how ill he

and that the ſame Force which made the King Maſter of their Religion, made him Maſter of their Liberties too. That in *France* there was none to be conſider'd but the Nobles and the Clergy: That if a King could engage them in his Deſigns, he had no more to do; for the Peaſants having no Land, were as inſignificant in the Government, as the Women and Children are here. That, on the contrary, the great Bulk of Land in *England* lies in the Hands of the Yeomanry or lower Gentry; and their Hearts are high by Eaſe and Plenty, as thoſe of the *French* Peaſantry are wholly diſpirited by Labour and Want. That the Kings of *France* are very great in Poſſeſſions of Land, and in Dependances, by ſuch vaſt Numbers of Offices, Military and Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical; whereas thoſe of *England* having few Offices to beſtow, having parted with their Lands, their Court of Wards, and Knights Services, have no means to raiſe or keep Armies on foot, but by Supplies from their Parliaments; nor Revenues to maintain any foreign War by other ways. That if they had an Army on foot, yet, if compos'd of *Engliſh*, they would never ſerve Ends that the People hated and fear'd. That the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* were not the Hundredth part of the Nation, and in *Scotland*, not the two Hundredth: and it ſeem'd againſt all common ſenſe, to think by one part to govern Ninety Nine that were of contrary Minds and Humours. That for foreign Troops, if they were few, they would ſignify nothing but to raiſe Hatred and Diſcontents; and how to raiſe, to bring over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine. That the Force ſeeming neceſſary to ſubdue the Liberties and Spirits of this Nation, could not be eſteem'd leſs than an Army of threeſcore Thouſand Men,

'since the *Romans* were forc'd to keep twelve Legions to that purpose; the *Norman* (*William* the Conqueror) to institute sixty two Thousand Knights Fees; and *Cromwel* left an Army of near eighty Thousand Men. That he (Sir *William*) never knew but one Foreigner that understood *England* well, which was Monsieur *Gourville*, (whom he knew the King esteem'd the soundest Head of any *Frenchman* he had ever seen), 'That when he '(Sir *William*) was at *Brussels* in the first *Dutch* War, and Mr. *Gourville* heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he said, *The King had nothing to do but to make the Peace:* That he had been long enough in *England*, seen enough of our Court, and People, and Parliament, to conclude, * *Qu'un Roy* d'Angleterre *qui veut être l'Homme de son Peuple, est le plus grand Roy du Monde; mais s'il veut être quelque chose d'Avantage, par D——u il n'est plus rien.*' The King heard Sir *William* very attentively, but tho he seem'd a little impatient at first; yet, at last, he said, Sir *William* had reason in all, and so had *Gourville*; and laying his Hand upon Sir *William*'s, he added, † *Et je veux être l'Homme de mon Peuple.*

Sir *William Temple*'s Dispatches being finish'd at the Treasury, as well as the Secretary's Office, he went away in *July*. His Instructions were in general, To assure the States of his Majesty's Friendship, and firm Resolution to observe his Treaties with them; then to offer his Mediation in the present War, which both they and almost all *Christendom*, were engaged in; and after their Acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewise with all their

* *That is*, That a King of *England*, who will be the MAN of his People, is the greatest King in the World; but if he will be something more, by G—d he is nothing at all.

† And I will be the MAN of my People.

Allies; and, to that end, to engage the Offices and Intervention of the States: But, in particular, immediately after his Arrival at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of *Orange*, to give him part of his Majesty's Intentions in all this Affair, and Assurance of his Kindness; and engage his Highness, as far as could be, to second his Majesty's Desires, in promoting a general Peace, wherein the *United Provinces* seem'd to have the greatest Interest.

Upon his Arrival at the *Hague*, Sir *William* deliver'd his Credentials to the President of the Week, and made a Visit to Pensionary *Fagel*, wherein he discover'd a strong Inclination in the States to a Peace, as far as the Honour and Engagements to their Allies would allow them; and was assur'd of the States accepting his Majesty's Mediation. After this, his Excellency went to *Antwerp*, in hopes to have found the Prince of *Orange* at his Camp between *Antwerp* and *Louvain*, where he had lain some time expecting the Advance of the Confederate Troops; but his Highness having march'd beyond *Louvain* two Days before, Sir *William* went to *Brussels*, there to desire a Guard to convey him to the Camp. Having sent his Secretary to the Count *Monterey* with his Compliments, and Desires of a Guard, the Count return'd the first very coldly, and the other with Excuses that amounted to a Refusal. The truth was, the *Spaniards* were grown so jealous of his Majesty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*; of the States and People's violent Humour to a Peace; and of the Offices they thought Sir *William Temple* might use to slacken the Prince of *Orange* in the vigorous Prosecution of their present Hopes and Designs; that he found it was resolv'd by the *Spaniards*, in concert with the Prince, to delay first, and then to hinder any Interview between his Highness and him, till the Campaign was ended. Sir *William* being sensible of this, and unwilling

all Christendom were engag'd in. Yet trust the Spaniards were grown jealous of our King's Mediation offer'd at the Hague

to expose either his Majesty's Character, or Credit with his Nephew, he very prudently return'd to the *Hague*, where he had long Conversations with the Pensioner; by which he gain'd the Lights necessary to discover the whole present Scene of Affairs, and Pulses of the Confederates, in what related to the General Peace. His Excellency *told him, how much his Majesty was satisfy'd with that he had lately made with the States; how much he was resolv'd to continue and to cultivate it: How much reason he had to be content with the Posture he had left him in,* viz. *at Peace with all his Neighbours, while they were all at War. That Advantages of Commerce from it, were enough to make him trouble himself no farther about the Peace of* Christendom, *if his Goodness and Piety did not prevail more with him, than his Interest. But that these, and the Desire of a general Good, had perswaded him to offer his Mediation in the present Quarrels. That it had been already accepted by* France, *and that the Emperor and* Spain *had answer'd, They would consider of it. That the States Ambassadors at* London *assur'd his Majesty, their Masters would be pleas'd with it, and doubted not their Consent, that the Treaty should be at* London; *and that thereupon his Majesty had charg'd him with a Letter to the States, to offer them his Mediation. That he could not doubt their accepting it with the best Grace that could be; for he knew their Interest was to have a Peace, and not to disoblige the King. That if his Majesty were partial to any side, they ought to believe it would be to that wherein his own* Nephew *was so deeply concern'd; and the more, because he offer'd his Offices towards a Peace, at a time when the Advantages and the Preparations for the War run so high on the* French *side, as he doubted the Events might shew, if it continu'd. That they knew his Majesty's Interest would not suffer him to see* Flanders *lost; and that considering what had past, his Honour would not suffer to think of preserving*

ſerving it any other way than by that of a Peace. That he would be glad to ſee that Country left by the next Peace, in a better Poſture of Defence than it was by the laſt; and the Spaniſh *Territories lie cloſer and rounder than they were then left. And that when this ſhould be concluded, his Majeſty would be ready to enter into the ſtrongeſt* GUARANTY *they could deſire, and might with Honour enter into a War to preſerve it, tho he would not to obtain it.*

The Penſionary gave Sir *William* thanks for his good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the Meaſures of Friendſhip that had interceded between his Majeſty and them ſince the firſt Breach: He applauded the King's Reſolution in ſo pious and generous an Offer, and acknowledg'd his Intereſt might lead him to other Diſpoſitions: That he doubted not the States willingneſs to accept it; all the difference would be about the Time, and the Manner of doing it. *As to this,* he ſaid, *they could not do it without the Communication at leaſt of their Allies, but would immediately give them part of his Majeſty's Offer, and the States Diſpoſitions to receive it. That for the Terms of Peace, as to their own parts they would be content to make his Majeſty the Arbiter of it. That they had lately recover'd all the Towns they had loſt, except* Grave *and* Maeſtricht, *the laſt of which was in ſome manner engag'd to* Spain, *when it ſhould be recover'd; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good account of it very ſoon, Orders being already given to inveſt it. But he doubted whether their Allies would be ſo eaſy in their Expectations or Demands; and that 'twas impoſſible for the States to leave them, who had ſav'd their Country from Ruin, when two ſo great Kings had invaded them; nor to* BREAK THE TREATIES *which they had made Offenſive with the* Emperor, Spain, *and* Brandenburgh. *That the Terms ſtipulated with* Spain *oblig'd them to reduce* France *to the* TREATY OF THE PYRE-

NERS; *but only a Reſerve was made by one Article, which was,* Unleſs it ſhould be otherwiſe agreed by conſent between them. *That whatever* Spain *would be content with ſhould ſatisfy them, tho they were both equally ſenſible of the* DESIGNS *and* AMBITION *of* FRANCE, *as well as of their Grudge to the States. That they* could never hope for ſuch another Conjuncture, to reduce them to ſuch Bounds and Meaſures *as might be ſafe to their Neighbours, and give Quiet to* Chriſtendom. *That it was an ill time to enter into the Terms of a Peace between* France *and* Spain, *becauſe they knew they ſhould have ill Grace to demand the Reſtitution of any Towns the* Spaniards *had loſt in* Flanders *by the laſt War, and given up by the Peace that ſucceeded it; and yet his Majeſty knew as well as they, that without it a Peace could never be ſafe for* Flanders, *nor for* Holland, *nor conſequently for* England. *But he believ'd there would not paſs many Days before ſome deciſive Action would happen between the two Armies, now not far diſtant in the Field, which would make room for the Negotiation of Peace that might ſucceed next Winter; in which his Majeſty would find the Intereſts and Humours of a Trading Country, as theirs was, very ſtrong, and diſpos'd to preſs their Allies, as far as it was poſſible, to facilitate ſo great and ſo good a Work. And for the reſt of the Allies, beſides* Spain, *he had no reaſon to ſuſpect any great Difficulties would ariſe, ſo little having yet paſs'd in the War between* France *and them.*

The Penſionary had reaſon to expect ſome ſudden Action in the Field: for about the middle of *Auguſt* was fought the Battle of *Senef*, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Prince of *Condé*. But it prov'd not an Action ſo deciſive as was expected from two Armies of ſo great Force, and ſo animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition

of

of the Commanders. The Succeſs of this Fight was ſo differently reported by thoſe that engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the *Victory*, which each challeng'd; and, perhaps, neither with any great Reaſon. The Allies claim'd it, becauſe they were laſt upon the Field; and the *French* upon the greateſt Number of Priſoners and Standards they carry'd away: But whoever had the Honour, they both felt the Loſs. After the Repair neceſſary in each Camp, both Armies took the Field again, and gave a general Expectation of another Battle; but the Prince of *Condé* choſe and fortify'd his Encampments ſo, as not to be forc'd to one without apparent Diſadvantages. Hereupon the Prince of *Orange* ſet down before *Oudenarde* in *September*, and had his end, of drawing the Prince of *Condé* out of his cautious Marches; who came immediately to relieve it. Upon ſight of the *French* Army, the Prince of *Orange* propos'd to draw out and attack them before they were reſted after their hard Day's March. The *Spaniards* were content, but Count *Souches* would not agree to it, and ſo this Occaſion was loſt; and with ſuch Diſcontent among the Generals, that the next Day the *Germans* left their Trenches, and marching away about a League, left room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Hereupon the Prince of *Orange* was forc'd to riſe too; and having left part of the *Dutch* Forces with Count *Monterey*, went himſelf with the reſt to preſs the Siege of *Grave*; being reſolv'd, ſince he fail'd in what he deſign'd to do in favour of the *Spaniards*, to free his own Country from the laſt Mark of their intended Servitude.

While his Highneſs was engag'd in this Siege, the King of *England* was very intent to have the Peace made; and therefore Sir *W. Temple* gave an account to his Highneſs by Letter, of what he had ſaid to the States at his Audience, and of the general Scope

of his Embaſſy. Some time after * Sir *William* wrote another Letter to the Prince to this effect: *Your Highneſs will have receiv'd one, before this comes to you, from his Majeſty's own Hands; and, at length, what you could deſire more of his Majeſty's particular Kindneſs to your Highneſs's Perſon and Intereſts, and of his Intentions upon the Subject of the Peace; both as to the* PRESERVATION *of* Flanders, *and the* GUARANTY *of Peace, if it were once concluded: Towards which your Highneſs muſt furniſh the firſt Materials.* To this laſt Letter the Prince return'd † an Anſwer, *That he had only time to tell his Lordſhip, he had receiv'd his kind Letter, and had anſwer'd that of his Majeſty in ſuch a manner, as he hop'd would be ſatisfactory; and that when he had more time to diſcourſe it with his Lordſhip, he did not doubt but that he would confeſs, he was not able to go any farther:* Which muſt be ſuppos'd to be the Terms on which the King would have the Peace made.

In the mean time, Sir *William Temple* was not idle at the *Hague:* For upon occaſion of the *Dutch* ſeizing an *Engliſh* Merchant-man call'd the *Rebecca*, he preſented two Memorials to the States; wherein he demanded the Reſtitution of that Ship, and claim'd a free Trade for all || *Engliſh* Ships, and the Merchandize they carry'd, if not Contraband, without any Exception of their Trading from one Enemy's Port to another; which, he inſiſted, could not be drawn from the Words of the Articles. He told their High Mightineſſes very plainly, 'That if 'any Doubt might ariſe upon the Senſe of any Ar'ticle in Treaties ſubſiſting between his Majeſty 'and them, it could not be reſolv'd without his 'Majeſty's conſent; and till that was obtain'd, they

* Octob. 15. N. S. *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 54. † Octob. 21. N. S.

|| *Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 70. & ſeq.

† 'could

'could not make themſelves the ſole Judges or In-
'terpreters, againſt the plain common Senſe of
'any Words, and to the Prejudice of his Majeſty's
'Subjects.' This was the Point Sir *William* put all the weight upon in his Memorials; beſides which, he had a Conference with the Penſionary *Fagel* upon this matter. The Heads of the Penſionary's Arguments were, The Judgment, he pretended, of ſeveral Authors upon the Point; and the Practice of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sweden*, with them; and of *England* alſo in the time of King *James* and King *Charles* I. of which he undertook to give Examples; urging, That it could not be the meaning to drive an Enemy's Trade, but only to preſerve a Friend's. Sir *William Temple* eaſily eluded this laſt, by his ſincere Proteſtations, that at his ſigning the Confirmation of thoſe Articles, he had no ſuch Senſe of them as the Penſionary would now give them; but took the meaning of them to be juſt the ſame with the Words, *viz. That free Ships made free Goods* in all Caſes, unleſs that of *Contraband*. As for the Senſe of Authors writing upon general Themes, and for their own Credit, or that of their Profeſſions, he ſaid, 'They could not be admitted to interpret
'any particular Treaties between Princes and
'States, who might make what Agreement they
'pleas'd between themſelves; and very different
'from what Authors call *Jus Gentium*, or general
'Reaſon; by which they commonly mean their
'own. That for the Practice of other Kings with
'them, it was no Rule of theirs with his Majeſty;
'nor any Agreement that the *Engliſh* ſhould not have
'Juſtice from the *Dutch*, becauſe the *Dutch* could
'not obtain it from others: But, on the contrary,
'tho they had it not, yet they ever demanded it
'both of *France* and *Spain*; which was a certain
'Proof, that they eſteem'd that Juſt in their own
'Caſe, which they would not allow to be ſo with
'reſpect

'reſpect to *England*.' As for the Practice he offer'd to produce, in the late King's time, Sir *William* ſaid, 'He ſhould be content to ſee it, but could 'not tell how it would ſquare with the preſent 'Caſe; ſince it was grounded upon Articles never 'in force between his Majeſty and this State, till 'the Treaty of *Breda*. He added, How unjuſt 'their Pretence was, to make a wreſted Interpre-'tation of plain Words, without his Majeſty's 'Conſent. That it was not fair to do it at a 'time, when the Advantage of ſuch an Article 'was only caſt on the ſide of *England* by the 'common Revolutions of War and Peace; which 'might be in their Favour the next Day, as 'they were at preſent in ours: Whereas when 'the Advantage was, by like Accidents, caſt on 'their ſide, as it had been with *France* and *Spain*, 'they had ever inſiſted on the very ſame Point that '*England* now did, and never given over the In-'ſtances upon it, whether they receiv'd Satisfac-'tion or no.' After a long and warm Debate, Sir *William* gain'd this from the Penſionary, That for his own part, he was content it ſhould be as his Excellency deſir'd it, ſince the King underſtood it ſo, and it was to be reciprocal between the two Nations. That he could do nothing on it, in the States-General, till the States of *Holland* aſſembled, which would be within a Fortnight. That he would then propoſe it there, and endeavour their Compliance with his Majeſty; eſpecially if the Prince, at his Return, approv'd of it: and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to have the Goods in the *Rebecca*, or the Product of them, depoſited, till the States came to a Reſolution in this matter; the Ship it ſelf being already ſet at liberty, and gone, purſuant to a Reſolution taken by the States in *May* laſt. This ſingle Paſſage clears Sir *William Temple* from any unjuſt Imputation of Partiality

Partiality to the *Dutch*; and evinces, that in his Embaſſies at the *Hague*, he was equally attentive to, and ſtudious to promote the general Good and Safety of *Chriſtendom*, and the particular Intereſt of his own Country.

Upon the Reduction of *Grave*, about the beginning of *November* N. S. forty Pitch Barrels were ſent, * by Order of the States, to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Houſe, towards the intended Bonfires, being in proportion to other foreign Miniſters: But Sir *William* order'd them to be ſent back, and told ſome of the States, That whenever he made any ſuch Fire, he would do it upon his Majeſty's Charge, and no other; That in the mean time, he did not think fit to do it at all upon this Occaſion, when his Majeſty had offer'd his Mediation in a Quarrel lying between two of his Allies; and that it would not look like the Part of a Mediator, to have his Miniſter thus concern himſelf in Succeſſes of either ſide. A pregnant Inſtance of his Circumſpection on all Occaſions.

As ſoon as the Prince came to the *Hague*, Sir *William* † acquainted him, by word of Mouth, with his Majeſty's perſonal Kindneſs and Eſteem for his Highneſs; his Reſolution to cultivate his preſent Friendſhip with the States; and Deſire to ſee a General Peace reſtor'd to *Chriſtendom*; in which he intended to act wholly in concert with his Highneſs, whoſe Opinion, as to the thing, and the Conditions moſt neceſſary for his Highneſs to inſiſt on, his Majeſty very much deſir'd to underſtand as ſoon, and as fully as he could. The Prince anſwer'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador with Expreſſions of Duty and Kindneſs to his Majeſty, and Deſires of a near Conjunction between the two Nations; *which* he thought

* November 5. N. S. ubi ſupra, *p.* 75.

† *See his Memoirs*, Part II. p. 67. & ſeq.

alone

alone could make his Majeſty ſafe at Home and Abroad. For the Peace, he ſaid, *Tho he could make many Complaints of both the* Spaniards *and* Imperialiſts *Conduct ſince their Treaties, yet the States could not with any* FAITH *or* HONOUR, *make any* SEPARATE PEACE *upon any Terms that* France *could offer them. That a* GENERAL PEACE *could not be made, without leaving* Flanders *in a Poſture of defending it ſelf upon any new or ſudden Invaſion, againſt which no Guarantees could ſecure it. That* Spain *could not upon any Terms quit the Country of* Burgundy *or* Cambray, *or any thing in* Flanders, *beyond the Treaty of the* Pyrenees, *unleſs it were* Aire *and* St. Omer. *This, his Highneſs ſaid, was his Opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all conſiſtent with the* SAFETY *of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of his Majeſty's Mediation; which was accepted at* Vienna *and* Madrid. Sir *William Temple* told the Prince, *That the King having been the Author and Guarantee of the Peace of* Aix-la-Chapelle, *and not having yet ſeen the* French *beaten out of any Town that was given them by that Treaty, could with ill Grace propoſe any thing to* France *beyond theſe Terms, unleſs it were upon ſome Equivalent.* The Prince reply'd reſolutely, *'Twere better going on with the War, let it laſt as long, and coſt as much as it would. That his Majeſty might, if he pleas'd, induce* France *to whatever he thought juſt; and could never ſhew him ſo much Kindneſs as to bring him out of this War with Honour. If he would not, it muſt go on till ſome Change happen'd in the Condition of the Parties, to make the Peace neceſſary on one ſide or other. How it would fall out he could not tell, and muſt leave it to God; but he thought they had as fair a Game as the* French. *That he was ſure they might have been abſolutely beaten at* Seneff, *if Count* Souches *had pleas'd; and have had a fair Blow for it at* Oudenarde. *That*

he

he was ſure Germany *could furniſh more and better Men than* France; *and they were now in a manner united in the common Defence; and he hop'd the Emperor's Counſels would not be ſo betray'd as they had been: That, however, he muſt perform what his own Honour, as well as that of the States, was engag'd in to their* ALLIES, *let it coſt what it would.*

Sir *William* ſeeing the Prince unmovable upon theſe Diſcourſes, he turn'd them another * way, and ſaid: *Tho his Majeſty would omit nothing that became a Chriſtian King and a Friend to his Highneſs, in the good Offices towards a Peace, yet if they were not underſtood to be ſo, his Majeſty might, perhaps, content himſelf to grow rich, by the Encreaſe of his Cuſtoms and of Trade; and let the* Dutch *and their Neighbours knock their Heads together as long as they pleas'd.* The Prince ſmil'd, and ſaid, He believ'd ſo: And for that reaſon Sir *William* talk'd of Terms, which his Excellency knew the *Spaniards* could not accept of. And then he fell again into Talk, how eaſy it was for his Majeſty to bring *France* to ſuch a Peace as he pleas'd, and how much it was his Intereſt to leave *Flanders* ſafe.

There was one Point more Sir *William Temple* enter'd into with the Prince, which was upon occaſion of the many *diſcontented Perſons* in *England*, at the Courſe of the laſt Miniſtry and War, who were ſuſpected to have *trinckled* at leaſt with *Holland*, about raiſing Seditions, and perhaps, Inſurrections in *England*, if the War continu'd; and the *Dutch* Fleet ſhould appear upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, that were like to be unguarded the next Summer, by the Straits his Majeſty was in for Mony to ſet out a Fleet. It was believ'd, among many others, the Lord *Shaftsbury* was one that had of late play'd this Game; who having been as deep as any Man

* *See his Letters*, Vol. III. p. 79.

in the Counſels of the *Cabal*, and gone ſo far in the publick Applauſe of them, as in a Speech in Parliament, to have apply'd the *Delenda Carthago* to the Intereſt of *England*, in the Deſtruction of *Holland*; yet when he ſaw the Parliament and Nation fullen upon it, and that the King could not purſue it againſt the general Senſe of his Subjects in both, he turn'd ſhort upon the Court, and the reſt of the *Cabal*; fell in with the popular Humour in the City as well as Parliament; decried the preſent Deſigns and Conduct, tho with the Loſs of his Chancellor's Place, which was given to Sir *Heneage Finch*; and was believ'd to manage a Practice in *Holland*, for ſome Inſtructions in *England*. Sir *William Temple told the Prince what his Majeſty ſuſpected of ſome of his Subjects, without naming any; how much Service it would be to his Majeſty to know them more certainly; and how kind it would be in his Highneſs to diſcover them.* The Prince was ſtanch, and ſaid: *He was ſure the King would not preſs him upon a thing ſo much againſt all Honour, as to betray Men that profeſs'd to be his Friends.* The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador gave his Majeſty an Account of all that paſs'd between the Prince and him, which was thought at Court both *cold* to his Majeſty, and ſtiff as to the Peace. Sir *William* had no Returns or Orders upon this matter: But about the beginning of *December*, the Earl of *Arlington* Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Offory*, arriv'd at the *Hague*, tho without any Character or Shew of Buſineſs *.

My Lord *Arlington* brought Sir *William Temple* a Letter from the King, acquainting him, that he had ſent his Lordſhip to ſet ſome important Points right between his Majeſty and the Prince, which ought not to be longer in doubt; and recommending to him all the Aſſiſtance he could give his Lordſhip at

* Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 72. & ſeq.

the

Bury when C. was of the Cabal, he made the like Speech of Delenda est Carthago, but he

meant ye Dutch so soon as he was turnd out of ye Keeper's place, he changd his discourses, in ye Publick places of ye City to support ye Dutch interest & his

the *Hague*. The Myſtery of this Journey and Affair (which was in great meaſure a Secret to the Lord Treaſurer himſelf, but which the Prince of *Orange* diſcover'd to Sir *William Temple*) was this: The Lord *Arlington*, who had been at the head of thoſe Meaſures that the King enter'd into during the Miniſtry of the *Cabal*, and the late War with *Holland*, found his Credit ſinking with his Maſter upon the ill Iſſue of that Affair. As this Lord's Favour declin'd, ſo the Earl of *Danby*'s increas'd, who ſucceeded the Lord *Clifford* in the Treaſury, which had ever been the Lord *Arlington*'s Ambition. This gave the latter an implacable Envy and Hatred againſt the Lord *Danby*, and which no Offices of Friends could ever allay. He was not well in the Nation, for having had ſuch a ſhare in breaking the *Triple Alliance*, and making that with *France* for the Ruin of *Holland*; and, as 'twas commonly thought, for ſome Ends more diſpleaſing at Home: yet when the ill Humour of the Parliament had broken the Deſigns of the *Cabal*, my Lord *Arlington* follow'd ſo far the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s Example, as to join with the Duke of *Ormond* and Secretary *Coventry*, to perſuade the King to remove the Duke of *York* wholly from Court and Buſineſs, as a means to appeaſe the Diſcontents of the Nation, upon a well-grounded Jealouſy of *Popery*, which the late Conduct of Affairs had rais'd. By this Advice the Lord *Arlington* had very much offended the Duke; and finding himſelf ill with his Royal Highneſs, with the Parliament, and every day declining in Favour with the King, he thought there was no way of retrieving his Credit, but by making himſelf the Inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe Meaſures between the King and the Prince of *Orange*. He firſt ſuggeſted to his Majeſty the Neceſſity and Advantage of ſuch a Negotiation; then that of his being employ'd in it, from the Intereſt

made him afterwards every great w^ch his ye Whigs dine at ye Taverns w^th 30 or 40 Lords & Gentlemen. This is true & ye D of Monmouth & D of Buckingham have been both there

his Lady's Friends and Relations had in *Holland*: And tho he profeſs'd great Friendſhip to Sir *William Temple*, yet he repreſented him as unlikely to be truſted with ſuch a Confidence from the Prince, as was requiſite in this Affair, for having been ſo intimate with Monſieur *De Wit* in his former Embaſſy. He went over with all the Auxiliaries that were like to be of any Succour in this Expedition, carrying not only my Lady *Arlington*, but Madam *Beverwort*, her Siſter, whoſe Converſation was very agreeable to the Prince; Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, who pretended a great Intimacy with Monſieur *Bentinck*; Dr. *Durel*, a Man fit to practiſe Monſieur *Des Marets*, a *French* Miniſter in Credit with the Prince; and the Lord *Oſſory*, who had a great ſhare in his Highneſs's Kindneſs and Eſteem, as well from his Marriage into the *Beverwort*'s Family, as from his perſonal Bravery; a Quality lov'd by the Prince, even in an Enemy. My Lord *Danby* had been made to believe, that a Letter from the Prince to Monſieur *Odyck*, then one of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors in *England*, had given Occaſion to his Journey, as if the Prince had deſir'd ſome Perſon at the *Hague* from the King, with whom he might enter into the laſt Confidence; but his Highneſs aſſur'd Sir *William Temple*, that there was no ſuch thing, and that Monſieur *De Ruvigny*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, had more part in this Journey than he, and perhaps any body elſe; and that all the Endeavours us'd towards a Peace came from that ſide.

My Lord *Arlington* told Sir *William Temple* at their firſt Meeting, *That he came over to ſet right ſome things between the King and the Prince, that he doubted were amiſs, and ſettle a perfect Kindneſs and Confidence between them; that to do this, he muſt go to the bottom of the Sore, and rake into things paſt; which was an unpleaſant Work, and which Sir* William *could not do, as having no part in the King's Buſineſs during that*

that time, wherein the Prince took his Offence at the Counſels of England. *That the King had choſen him for this Office, becauſe he could beſt juſtify his Majeſty's Intentions towards his Highneſs, in the whole Courſe of that Affair. That for the Peace, tho his Majeſty deſir'd it, yet he would not meddle with it, unleſs the Prince, of himſelf, made any Overtures about it; but would only endeavour to give the Prince what Lights he could as to the ſtate of things in general, and what he might hope from his Allies, as well as from* France. *That if the Prince made no Advances to him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it in Sir* William Temple's *hands. That he knew very well ſuch a Commiſſion as his might look unkind, if not injurious to another Ambaſſador; and that he would not have come, if any other had been there: but the King, as well as he, reckon'd ſo far upon the Friendſhip between them, that they were both confident of Sir* William's *being eaſy in it, and giving him his Aſſiſtance. He ſaid beſides,* That after having fought the King's Battle with the Prince, he muſt fight another of his own, *who did not deſerve the Coldneſs his Highneſs had of late expreſs'd to him; and when this was done, all his Buſineſs was ended. That he deſir'd Sir* William *would, according to the Forms, bring him and my Lord* Oſſory *the firſt time to the Prince; and after that he would ſee him no more in Ceremony, nor give his Excellency that Trouble.*

Sir *William Temple* told his Lordſhip, *He was very glad to ſee him, let his Buſineſs be what it would: That he ſhould be gladder yet that the King's Buſineſs ſhould be done, let it be by whom it would; but much more that it might be by him. That for ſettling matters right between the King and the Prince, he thought it the beſt Office that could be done them both. That for the way he mention'd, of* raking into the Sore, and fighting of Battels, *in Defence or Juſtification of what was paſt, he knew not what to ſay to it; but would*

would leave it to his own Prudence: but for what he knew in particular of the Prince's Humour and Thoughts, whatever he did of that ſort, he believ'd ſhould be very gentle, and not go too deep; being of Opinion, that Expoſtulations were very apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends. *That he would introduce him and the Lord* Oſſory *to the Prince; and deſir'd no other part in his Affair, than what his Lordſhip thought neceſſary to give him.*

Sir *William Temple* was not the worſe entertain'd during the Courſe of this Adventure; for my Lord *Arlington* told him every day what he thought fit of all that paſs'd between them; and his Highneſs told him not only the Thing, but the Manner of it, which was more important than the Matter it ſelf: For this had no effect, but the other a great deal, and that laſted long. His Lordſhip told him much of his Expoſtulations, and with what good Turns of Wit he had juſtify'd both the King's part in the *late War*, and his own; but upon all, he found the Prince *dry*, *ſullen*, and *uneaſy*. That as to the State of *Chriſtendom*, and what related to the War he was engag'd in, he made him no Overtures at all, nor enter'd further than that the King might bring him out of it with Honour, if he pleas'd, and with Safety to *Europe*; if not, it muſt go on, till the Fortunes of the Parties changing, made way for other Thoughts.

The Prince, on the other ſide, acquainted Sir *William Temple* with *what Arrogance and Inſolence the Lord* Arlington *had entred upon all his Expoſtulations with him; ſhewing not only in his Diſcourſe, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, and could by his Wit make him believe what he pleas'd; but in the manner of it, as if he had taken himſelf for the Prince of* Orange, *and him for my Lord* Arlington. *That all he ſaid was ſo Artificial, and giving ſuch falſe Colours to things every body knew, that he that was a plain Man could*

not

not hear it, and was never ſo weary of any Converſation in his Life. In a word, by all the Prince told Sir *William Temple* upon it, his Highneſs look'd ſpighted at my Lord *Arlington*, and not very much pleas'd with the King's Intentions upon this Errand; tho he ſaid, *He was ſure his Majeſty never intended he ſhould treat it in the manner he had, if he remembred that he was his* Nephew, *tho nothing elſe.*

The Penſionary and Count *Waldeck* thought, that the Bent of my Lord *Arlington* was, *Firſt*, to draw the Prince into ſuch meaſures of a Peace as *France* then ſo much deſir'd. *Secondly*, Into a Diſcovery of thoſe Perſons who had made Advances to the Prince or the States, of raiſing Commotions in *England*. *Thirdly*, Into ſecret Meaſures with the King, of aſſiſting him againſt any Rebels at Home, as well as Enemies Abroad. And, *Fourthly*, Into the Hopes or Deſigns of a Match with the Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter. Tho, they ſaid, he found the Prince would not enter at all into the Firſt; was obſtinate againſt the Second; treated the Third as a Diſreſpect to the King, to think he could be ſo ill belov'd, or ſo imprudent to need it: and upon mention made of the laſt by the Lord *Oſſory*, he took no further hold of it, than ſaying, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife.*

After the firſt Converſations, the Lord *Arlington* ſtaid near ſix Weeks in *Holland*, (either upon contrary Winds to return his Diſpatches, or to carry him away) equally diſappointed and diſcontented with the Succeſs of his Undertaking. At his return to *London*, he was but coldly receiv'd by the King, and ill by the Duke of *York*; the latter being angry that any mention had been made of the Lady *Mary*, tho it was done by the Earl of *Oſſory*; but whether with an Order from his Majeſty or no, was uncertain: So as never any Strain of Court-Skill and Contrivance ſucceeded ſo unfortunately

as

as this had done, and ſo contrary to the Ends the Author of it propos'd to himſelf. Inſtead of advancing the Peace, he left it deſperate; inſtead of eſtabliſhing a Confidence between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; inſtead of entring into great perſonal Confidence and Friendſhip with the Prince, he left an Unkindneſs that laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his own Credit at Court, he made an end of all he had left with the King: and he found the Lord Treaſurer's Credit with his Majeſty more advanc'd in ſix Weeks he had been abſent, than it had done in many Months before.

Whatever was the occaſion, the *French* ſhew'd this Winter an extreme Deſire of a Peace. A Talk of a Marriage between *Monſieur*'s eldeſt Daughter and the King of *Spain* was ſet on foot; a Suſpenſion of Arms was propos'd at *Vienna*; Practices were us'd to disjoint the Princes of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh* from the Confederacy; and great Inſtances made for a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*, towards which they offer'd all the Advantages that could be to the States, in point of Commerce, and all the Perſonal ones that could be deſir'd by the Prince of *Orange*: But his Highneſs was unmovable in not leaving his Allies, who likewiſe rejected the Overtures of Peace; tho he began to foreſee he was like to play a hard Game with them next Summer in the Field; and perhaps harder with the People, who grew impatient of Taxes, and not only felt the preſent Decay of Trade, but had alſo an Apprehenſion, that if the War laſted, it would ſoon run into a new Channel by *England*, ſo as never to be retriev'd. Upon theſe Conſiderations, his Highneſs reſolv'd to make one Effort towards a Peace with Honour: his Scheme was, *That a Match ſhould be made between the King of* Spain *and the Duke of* Orleans's *eldeſt* Daughter;

Lord Arlington's Journey to the Prince of Orange, did him no Service, Lord Danby had gain'd a great

Intercepts in K. King, During their Treaty with the Prince abroad, this next

Daughter. That France *should give her in Dowry the late conquer'd Places in* Flanders. *That the King of* England *should make this Match, and upon these Terms, that he should have* 200000 *Pounds for his good Offices in it: by which means a Peace would be made with Safety to* Spain *and* Holland; *by securing again the Frontiers of* Flanders *with Honour to* France, *who parted with the conquer'd Towns only as a Dowry to a Daughter of* France, *without any Blemish to the Prince's Honour, and Faith to his Alliances; and with Honour and Profit to his* Britannick *Majesty.* This the Prince and Pensionary having communicated to the *English* Ambassador, they desir'd him to propose it to the King his Master, as the only way of making the Peace he so earnestly desir'd. Sir *William Temple* having writ two Letters to the King upon it, had no hopes given him that it would be effected. Whether *France* took the Desires of the Prince for an Argument of his being weary of the War, or that he found the People were so; or whether they would not end the War without *breaking the Force and Confidence of the present Alliance*; or (as the Prince thought) without leaving *Flanders* open for another Invasion, when some better Conjuncture should make way for it; or whether the Revolt of *Messina* had given them hopes of disabling *Spain*, by drawing their Forces on that side, and disposing them to a Peace by this Wound in a part so tender, and that might spread so far into *Italy*; or whether they had now absolutely engag'd the Crown of *Sweden* to enter into the War, which might so alarm the Empire on the side of *Pomerania*, as to break or weaken any Conjunction of their Forces on the *Rhine*: However it was, this Attempt of the Prince fail'd; and all further Thoughts of a present Peace being at an end, Sir *William Temple* contented himself to pursue the cold Scent of the Mediation in the common Forms, while Prepara-

6 & about 13 & 4

 tions

tions were made on all ſides, for a vigorous Proſecution of the War.

The Prince in *February* 1675. N. S. went into *Gelderland* to eſtabliſh the new Magiſtracy there, according to his Office of Stadtholder. At his Highneſs's return to the *Hague* (in *March*) Sir *William Temple* receiv'd a Letter from the King, telling him of ſome Advices given him, that the Prince intended to come over into *England* againſt the approaching Seſſion of Parliament, and commanding his Excellency to prevent it. Sir *William*, before he ſaw the Prince, adventur'd to aſſure his Majeſty there could be nothing in it; but when he ſpoke with his Highneſs, he pretended not to have had it from the King, but that he heard ſuch a thing had been whiſper'd to his Majeſty. The Prince ſaid, *That Report might come from my Lord* Arlington, *who had ſometime talk'd of that Journey after the Peace ſhould be made: That however it came, he was ſorry the King ſhould believe it; That he was his Majeſty's Servant, and if he could do him no Service, he would, at leaſt, do him no Harm: but if the King would be otherwiſe poſſeſs'd, he could not help it; yet deſir'd Sir* William *to aſſure him, there had never been any ground for ſuch a Report.* In the Afternoon, * the Prince came to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and told him in great Heat, 'He had, ſince he ſaw 'him, receiv'd the moſt impertinent Letter from 'the Lord *Arlington*, that ever was upon that Sub-'ject, *treating it as a Reſolution certain, and intended* 'for raiſing HEATS *in the* PARLIAMENT, *and* 'COMMOTIONS *in the Kingdom*; adding, 'Twas 'like to prove but an ill Friendſhip between the King 'and him, if it was to be made à Coups de Bâtons '(that is, *with Blows:*) and putting him in mind,

* March 24. N. S. ubi ſupra. *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 102. *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 94.

'that

'*Qu'il y a des Playes chez vous qui ſaigneront en-*
'*core, ſi l'on y met la main*, (that is, *That there*
'*are ſome Wounds among you that will bleed ſtill, if*
'*they be meddled with:*) And that he knew well
'enough what my Lord *Arlington* meant by that Ex-
'preſſion; for he had told Monſieur *Reed* in *Eng-*
'*land*, when he went over upon the firſt Motions
'of the laſt Peace, That THE KING COULD
'MAKE THE PRINCE BE SERV'D AS HE
'Wiſ WAS, if he would ſet himſelf about it.'
Upon this, the Prince fell into the greateſt Rage
againſt the Lord *Arlington*, calling this Proceeding
malicious and *inſolent*; ſaying, *He would write to*
him what he deſerv'd, but never have any thing more
to do with him beyond common Forms: That *ſince he*
knew not how to truſt the King's Miniſters, he would
write to the King himſelf: And deſir'd Sir *William*
to convey his Letters ſo, as they might come to
no other hand. Sir *William* gave a faithful Ac-
count of all this to the King; adding, That *what*
he thought of ſo great Concernment to his Majeſty,
would ever make him loſe all other Regards: And that
he told his Majeſty at his coming away, he would de-
pend upon none but his Majeſty: when that fail'd, he
knew the way to his GARDEN *again.*

The truth is, the Partiſans of *France* were at
this time very buſy at the Court of *England*; ſug-
geſting ſuſpicions, as if the Prince of *Orange* had
intentions of forming a Faction in the enſuing Par-
liament. To be charg'd openly with this, could
not but touch the Prince very near; but he was yet
more particularly piqu'd at the Lord *Arlington*'s
Letter, 'In that his Highneſs (as he proteſted to
'Sir *William Temple*) was perfectly innocent of any
'ſuch Deſign; and that he was ſure, by the Earl's
'writing, he believ'd all he ſaid of that matter,
'or, at leaſt, made the King believe he did ſo.
'The firſt his Highneſs thought a part very un-

'lucky to himſelf; the laſt very unfriendly from '*Arlington*; who, he ſaid, knowing better, ought 'to have anſwer'd further for him than any other 'Man at Court.' One Circumſtance more nettled the Prince at that time, which was, That Monſieur *Wickfort*, a Perſon with whom Sir *William* had * formerly a great Intimacy, having now been ſeiz'd in *Holland*; was, amongſt other Crimes, accus'd of having Intelligence both in *France* and *England*, during the War; and at that very Juncture with *France*, as well as *Sweden*; and of forming a Party in the State againſt the Prince and eſtabliſh'd Government. Upon the examining his Papers, there were a great many Letters among them from Sir ———, wherein, as both the Prince and Penſionary told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, they found Sir ——— endeavour'd to ſtir up a Faction in *Holland* againſt his Highneſs; who thought that what the Lord *Arlington* writ might be of the ſame piece, or upon deſign of ſettling an Occaſion to do it: However, both the Prince and Penſionary aſſur'd Sir *William Temple*, they would never take notice to any body, either in *England* or *Holland*, of what they had diſcover'd of that kind in *Wickfort*'s Papers.

Soon after, Count *Waldeck* was ſent to *Vienna*, to concert the Operations of the approaching Campaign. In *March* the Elector of *Brandenburgh* came on the ſame account to *Cleve*, where he was met by the Prince of *Orange* and the Marquiſs *De Grana*, the Emperor's Envoy: And an Ambaſſador from *Denmark* arriv'd at the *Hague*, to try what Advantages his Maſter could make of this preſent Conjuncture, by threatning to enter into an Alliance with *Sweden*, who began to throw off the Mask, and had declar'd in favour of *France*. All things

* *Sir* William Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 313.

being

being thus in the higheſt Fermentation, a ſudden Damp fell upon the whole Maſs of theſe great Affairs, by the Sickneſs of the Prince of *Orange*; which ſhew'd him to be the *Maſter-Spring* that ſet all the other Wheels a going: for while his Illneſs contiun'd, all was in ſuſpence, and none of the Parties engag'd ſeem'd to have any other Motions or Sentiments, than what were rais'd by the Hopes or Fears of ſo *important a Life*. After ſome Days Fever, the Small-Pox appear'd, which had been very fatal to that Family in the Perſon of his Father and Mother, and gave the greater Apprehenſions to his Friends, his Country, and his Allies. But by the Care and Prudence of an able Phyſician, the Aſſiſtance of ſome Remedies which the Elector of *Brandenburgh* ſent him, and the great Evenneſs of his Temper, and Conſtancy of Mind, which gave way to no Impreſſions or Imaginations that uſe to be of ſo ill Conſequence in that Diſeaſe, it paſt without any bad Accidents; and within twenty Days his Highneſs went abroad, and fell into the preſent Buſineſs of State. His Highneſs receiv'd the Compliments of all the foreign Miniſters, (not excepting thoſe of *France*) upon his Recovery: And as ſoon as his Illneſs was known in *England*, Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Aſhton* were ſent to the *Hague* by the King and Duke of *York*.

In the mean time, how uſeleſs ſoever for the preſent, yet the Form of his *Britannick* Majeſty's Mediation went on. After it had been accepted, the firſt Point that came to be conſider'd on, was the Place of Treaty, which occaſion'd no ſmall Diſpute; the ſeveral Parties reciprocally propoſing or rejecting ſeveral Places: but at laſt, Sir *William Temple* having nam'd *Cleve* and *Nimeguen*, the latter was agreed on firſt by *France*, and afterwards by the Allies.

As ſoon as the Prince was perfectly recover'd, his Highneſs repair'd to the general Rendezvous at *Roſendael*: But, by this time, the *French* had open'd the Campaign by the Siege of *Limburgh*, with one part of their Forces under the Command of the Marquiſs *de Rochefort*; while the King, the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condé*, with the reſt of the Army, cover'd the Siege in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for the Prince of *Orange* to relieve the Place. After the reduction of *Limburgh*, the King of *France* encamp'd near *Tillement*, ravaging all the Country round about *Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, and *Malines*. He ſeem'd to have form'd a Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *Louvain*; but the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa* obſerv'd him ſo narrowly, that he durſt not put it in execution. Nor did either the Confederate or *French* Army ſeem very earneſt to come to a Battle, upon the loſs of which ſo great Conſequences depended: ſo that about the end of *July*, the *French* Monarch weary of a dull contemplative Campaign, left the Army to the Prince of *Condé*, and, with his Court, return'd to *Verſailles*. The ſame Month, the King of *England* ſeeing the Negotiations of the Peace laid at preſent aſleep, ſent for Sir *William Temple* to make a ſhort Turn into *England*, and give him an Account of all the Obſervations he had made Abroad, on the preſent Conjunctures and Diſpoſitions; as well as receive his Majeſty's Inſtructions, for the future Progreſs of the King's Mediation.

The Parliament in *England* (the Majority of which were *uncorrupted*) tho much pleas'd with the laſt *Peace* with *Holland* *, yet were not ſo with his Majeſty's Deſires of a *General One*. They thought the Power of *France* too great ſince their laſt Con-

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Vol II. p. 107. & ſeq.

queſts

queſts in *Flanders*, and their Ambition too declar'd, of making themſelves Maſters of the reſt, by one means, and at one time or other: They were ſuſpicious of the COURT'S FAVOURING too much the FRENCH DESIGNS, by PURSUING A PEACE THAT WOULD BREAK SO MIGHTY A CONFEDERACY, as was now united againſt *France*: They were *jealous of the* COUNSELS that had made the LATE ALLIANCE and KINDNESS between *England* and *France*, in the time of the late *Cabal*: And beſides theſe ſolid Conſiderations, and the ancient popular Notions of Ballancing the Powers of Chriſtendom, *the ambitious Deſigns of private, but unquiet and aſpiring Men, fell in to blow up the general ill Humours upon the more publick Accounts.* The Lord *Shaftsbury*, impatient at his Fall from ſo great a ſhare of the Miniſtry, and hoping to retrieve a Game he was forc'd to give over, had run deſperately into the popular Humour, both in Parliament and City, of cenſuring the Court, exclaiming againſt our PARTIALITY to *France*; but moſt of all, againſt the Conduct of the PRESENT MINISTRY. On the other hand, the Lord *Arlington* was ſo enrag'd at the Growth of the Lord TREASURER'S Credit, upon the Fall of his own, that he ſtruck in with the common Humour of the Parliament; and in fomenting thoſe Jealouſies and Practices in the Houſe of Commons, which center'd in a Reſolution among the leading Members, *not to conſent to give the King any Mony, whilſt the preſent Lord Treaſurer continu'd.* Upon theſe Diſpoſitions, they grew very warm in purſuing the Lord *Lauderdale*, the only Remainder of the *Cabal* that had now any Credit at Court; and they preſs'd the King very hard to recal all the *Engliſh* Troops in the *French* Service: But they fell into ſo great Diſſenſions between the two Houſes, rais'd upon punctilious Diſputes, and

Deductions

Deductions of their ſeveral Privileges, in oppoſition to one another, that the King was glad of an Occaſion that made it neceſſary for him to prorogue them; which he did on the 9th of *June*.

Upon Sir *William Temple*'s Arrival ſoon after, the King telling him the ſeveral Reaſons that had mov'd him to it, ſaid, *That he doubted much while the War laſted abroad, it would give Occaſion or Pretence for thoſe Heats that had of late appear'd in the Parliament, and made him very uneaſy in his Revenue, which ſo much needed their Aſſiſtance. That ſome of the warm Leaders in both Houſes, had a mind to engage him in a War with* France, *which they ſhould not do for many Reaſons; and, among the reſt, becauſe he was ſure if they did, they would leave him in it, and make uſe of it to ruin his Miniſters, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King would deſire. But beſides all this, he doubted an impertinent Quarrel between my Lord* TREASURER *and Lord* CHAMBERLAIN, *did him more diſſervice in the Parliament than could be imagin'd; for the laſt did not care what Harm he did his* (the King's) *Buſineſs there, ſo he could hope to ruin my Lord* TREASURER; *and had perſuaded a great many in the Houſe of Commons, that this would certainly be compaſs'd, if they were ſtanch, in giving no Money during his Miniſtry. That he knew they were both Sir* William's *Friends, and therefore deſired he would try to reconcile them while he ſtaid in* England. Sir *William Temple* endeavour'd it, but fail'd: The Earl of *Danby* (late Duke of *Leeds*) was, indeed, very inclinable, being ſo poſted as to deſire only to continue where he was; and that the King's Buſineſs might go well in his hands: But my Lord *Arlington* was ſo uneaſy in the Poſture he ſtood, which he attributed chiefly to my Lord TREASURER's Greatneſs, that he was untractable upon this Subject. When Sir *William Temple* found the Wound was too much rankled

to be cur'd, he gave it over; telling each of them, That *ſince he could not make them Friends, he would, at leaſt, live with them both, as if they were ſo; and deſir'd them not to expect he ſhould ſacrifice one Friend to another.* My Lord TREASURER was content with this Frankneſs, but the Earl of *Arlington* could not bear this neither; grew dry from that time, and ſtiff, in all that paſs'd between him and Sir *William*; ſtill mingling little Reproaches of his Greatneſs with the Lord *Danby*; and was ſo weary of the Scene at Court, where he found himſelf left out, that he went into the Country for the reſt of the Summer. Thus the Seeds of Diſcontent, that had been ſown in the Parliament under the Counſels of the CABAL, began to ſpring faſt, and root deep, after their Power and Influence was wholly at an end; and theſe Heats were, under other Covers, fomented by TWO OF THE CHIEF that compos'd that MINISTRY, and with help of Time and Accidents, grew to ſuch Flames as afterwards appear'd. But whatever began or increas'd them, 'tis certain theſe Agitations in *England* had great effect on thoſe of the *War and Peace* abroad: For *the Confederates were confident, that the Humour of the Parliament and People would, at laſt, engage the King in their Quarrel, which they knew would force* France *to ſuch a Peace as they deſir'd.* *Spain*, among the reſt, was ſo preſuming, that *England* would not ſuffer the loſs of *Flanders*, that they grew careleſs of its Defence; truſting, for the preſent, to the *Dutch* to preſerve it, and to the King hereafter, whenever he ſhould find it more in danger. And *theſe Conſiderations made the Allies leſs inclinable to a Peace*, which they might have had cheaper the following Winter, than ever it fell afterwards to their Share, by Revolutions that were not foreſeen; but yet ſuch as were ſuſpected at this time, by thoſe that knew the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, the Diviſions

of the Imperial Court, and the POPISH and FRENCH INTEREST that prevail'd in *England*.

While Sir *William Temple* ſtay'd in *London*, which was about ſix Weeks, the News came of a great Inſurrection in *Britany*, which, with the Numbers and Rage it began, might have prov'd of ill Conſequence to the *French* Affairs, if it had met with a Head anſwerable to the Body; but being compos'd of the Scum of the mean People, that hated and ſpoil'd the Nobles of the Province, it was by fair means partly, and by foul, in a little time appeas'd. The Blow which was much more conſiderable to *France*, than the loſs of one Province would have been, was the Death of the Mareſchal *de Turenne*, the News whereof came to Court about the ſame time. The Aſtoniſhment was unſpeakable in the *French* Camp, upon the loſs of ſuch a General; and the Preſumption as great in that of the Imperialiſts, who reckon'd upon themſelves as Maſters of the whole *French* Army, that was ſtraitned between them and the *Rhine*, in want, diſeas'd, and, above all, diſcourag'd by the Fall of their Captain. All others had the ſame expectation upon this News, but all were diſappointed: And the Mareſchal *de Lorge* taking the Command of the Army, had the Honour of making a Retreat that was worth a Victory; and by the force of Order and Conduct, with the Bravery of the *Engliſh* Troops, (among whom Captain CHURCHIL * diſtinguiſh'd himſelf) he paſs'd the *Rhine* in ſight of the Imperialiſts, and preſerv'd the *French* Army, till the Prince of *Condé* was ſent in haſte out of *Flanders* with a great Reinforcement, to oppoſe the Progreſs of the *Germans* in *Alſace*.

In the mean time, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* drawing his Forces together, with ſome Imperia-

* *His Grace the Duke of* Marlborough.

liſts out of *Sileſia*, fell on the *Swedes* in *Pomerania* with that Bravery and Succeſs, that he ſoon beat them out of his part of the Country, and purſu'd them into their own. He had an Interview with the King of *Denmark*, who being now enter'd into the Intereſts of the Confederates, reſolv'd to declare War againſt *Sweden*; and to that end took his Meaſures with the Duke of *Brandenburgh* *. When the Prince of *Condé* left *Flanders* to ſucceed Monſieur *Turenne* in *Alſace*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* commanded the Army in *Flanders*, but with Orders not to hazard a Battle, but only to obſerve the Prince of *Orange*'s Motions; which he perform'd ſo well, that no further Action paſs'd this Summer, beſides the Prince's taking and razing of *Binch*. But to make amends for the Unactiveneſs of the Campaign in *Flanders*, the Allies, by general concert, fell upon an Enterprize of great *Eclat*, and greater Conſequence, which was the Siege of *Triers*; where Mareſchal *de Crequi*, who attempted to relieve the Place, having ſuſtain'd a total Defeat, and being got into the Town with Four or Five only in Company, was, at laſt, by the mutiny'd Garriſon deliver'd up Priſoner to the *Germans*. The loſs of Men was very great on the *French* ſide, both in the Fight and the Siege; which, added to Monſieur *Turenne*'s Death, and the Impreſſion expected upon it on that ſide by Count *Montecuculi*, with the loſs of the *Swedes*, made ſo great a Change in the face of Affairs, that the King, in a Letter to Sir *William Temple* in *September*, after his return to his Poſt at the *Hague*, bid him uſe it as an Argument to induce the Prince of *Orange*, to be eaſy in the Buſineſs of a PEACE; *That it was now time for him to begin to apprehend again the Greatneſs of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *inſtead of that of* France. Which

* *The preſent King of* Pruſſia's *Grandfather.*

Argument, the Event ſhew'd to be one of the uſual Artifices of the *French* Court, to break the *Grand Alliance*. About this time died the old Duke of *Lorrain*, leaving Prince *Charles* his Nephew the Succeſſion to that Dutchy: and the old Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*, a Lady of extraordinary Wit, good Senſe, and admirable Oeconomy, who had taken great Care of the young Prince's Education, died alſo about this time at the *Hague*.

After his Highneſs's return thither from the Campaign in *October*, Sir *William Temple* had ſeveral Conferences with him, upon the Subject of the Peace; and the Terms that both his *Majeſty* and the *States* might think *reaſonable*, between *France* and *Spain*. That which *France* pretended, was the Terms of the Peace of *Aix*, and retaining the County of *Burgundy*, which had been ſince conquer'd; or if either this Province, or ſome of the moſt important frontier Towns of *Flanders* ſhould be reſtor'd, then an *Equivalent* to be given to *France*. The *Spaniards* talk'd of nothing leſs than the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; and that they would rather loſe the reſt of *Flanders* by the War, than part with *Burgundy* by the PEACE; urging, with reaſon, That both the King of *England* and the States were as much concern'd in the Preſervation of *Flanders* as the Crown of *Spain*, and had the ſame Intereſt to ſee it ſafe by a War, as a Peace; which could not be by ſuch a *Barrier* as was left by the Peace of *Aix*. That which the Earl of *Arlington* had propos'd to the Prince and Penſionary, and which paſs'd for his Majeſty's Sentiments, was the Terms of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; but in regard of the Neceſſity for the *Spaniards* to have a better *Barrier*, that the *French* ſhould give up *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenard*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; and if they parted with *Burgundy*, it ſhould be for ſomething in Exchange. Sir *William Temple*, by the King's Command, aſſur'd the Prince, that if a Peace

Peace could be made upon theſe Terms, or any ſo near them, that he might hope to obtain the Conſent of *France*; his Majeſty, for the Security of *Flanders*, would give his own Guaranty to the Peace, and enter into the ſtricteſt Alliance with *Holland* for that purpoſe: And as for his Highneſs's Patrimonial Lands, and Lordſhips in *Burgundy*, his Majeſty would undertake for his ſecure poſſeſſing them, tho that County ſhould remain in the *French* hands, or for ſelling them to that King, at his Highneſs's own Price. But the Prince's Anſwer was the ſame as formerly, *viz.* That for his own part, he would be very well content to leave the Terms of a Peace to his Majeſty himſelf, and believ'd the States could do ſo too: But they were both engag'd by *Treaty* and *Honour* to their Allies, and there was no thought of making Peace without them. That for *France* retaining the County of *Burgundy*, he was ſure neither *Spain* nor the Emperor would ever conſent to it, unleſs they were beaten into it; tho for his own part he ſhould be content with it, provided the *French* would reſtore *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Liſle*, and *Douay* to the *Spaniards* in lieu of it; becauſe by that means *Flanders* would have a ſecure *Barrier* on that ſide, and a reaſonable good one by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* on the other: The Security of *Flanders* being the chief Concern of the *Dutch* upon the Peace. And as for himſelf, he thank'd his Majeſty for his Offer, but that his Lands in *Burgundy* never came into his Thoughts upon the Terms of a Peace. When Sir *William* put the Prince in mind, of the Apprehenſions he and the States might have of the *Greatneſs of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *if their Succeſſes continu'd*; his Highneſs ſaid, *There was no fear of that, till they ſhould go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrenees; *whenever that ſhould happen, he ſhould be as much a* Frenchman *as he was now a* Spaniard, *but not before. That for his part, he could never conſent*

ſent to any TREATY SEPARATE *from his Allies. That he believ'd they would be reaſonable; and if* France *would be ſo too, the Peace might be made; if not, perhaps another Campaign might bring them to Reaſon.* After this Conference, and no return from the King to the Account Sir *William* gave his Majeſty, the Diſcourſe ended, of private Meaſures to be agreed to between his Majeſty, and the Prince and States, for promoting a Peace; and all Thoughts began now to turn upon forming the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*. Some * of the Allies would have been glad enough, that the King of *Great Britain*, as Mediator, would have drawn the firſt Scheme, according to what he eſteem'd moſt juſt and agreeable to the common Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*: And they doubted not, but whatever Peace his Majeſty ſhould propoſe, he might do it in ſuch a manner, as to make it eaſily accepted by all Parties; and ſo take upon him to be the ARBITER, as well as MEDIATOR, in this great Affair. But, out of Partiality to *France*, his Majeſty's Counſels were fix'd to act no ſuch part: ſo as Sir *William Temple* rightly foreſaw, that the Mediation would not at all lead, but follow the Diſpoſitions of the Parties, as theſe would the Events of the War, ſince no Suſpenſion of Arms was like to be agreed on during the Treaty.

Notwithſtanding all that Sir *William Temple* had writ from the Prince of *Orange* to the King, upon the Subject of the Peace; the Lord *Arlington*, upon pretended Intelligence from his Relations in *Holland*, endeavour'd to perſuade his Majeſty, he did not know the Prince's Mind, for want of ſome body that had more Credit with his Highneſs, than Sir *William*; and at the ſame time he preſs'd the Prince by Letters, to deſire his Majeſty to ſend

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 145.

over

over ſome ſuch Perſon as he might treat with in the laſt Confidence. The Prince was ſo frank as to ſhew Sir *William* the Earl's Letters; and bid him aſſure the King and the Lord Treaſurer, *That he could ſay no more than he had done to his Excellency, and would not ſay ſo much to any other.* However, my Lord *Arlington* purſu'd his Point, and upon the former Suggeſtions, prevail'd with the King to ſend over Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, to know the bottom of the Prince's Mind before the Campaign began. Both he and the Lord Treaſurer acquainted the Prince with this Reſolution, and that *he was a Perſon they knew his Highneſs would truſt* *. But the Prince ſhew'd Sir *William* theſe Letters too, and ſaid, *He knew not what Lord* Arlington *meant; and that he never ſaid any thing to* Sylvius, *that he was not content his Coachman ſhould know.* Sir *William* laugh'd, and ask'd his Highneſs; *And would you have me tell my Lord Treaſurer ſo too?* Upon which the Prince turn'd about, and ſaid reſolutely, *Yes, do.* This ended all Correſpondence between the Earl of *Arlington* and Sir *William Temple*, which had continu'd, by Letters, to this time; tho coldly, ſince Sir *William* was laſt in *England:* the latter not having learnt enough, either of the Age, or the Court he liv'd in, to act an unſincere Part, either in Friendſhip, or in Love.

When Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* came to the *Hague*, which was in *January* 1676. N. S. he paſt for a Man of great Intrigue, was perpetually at the Prince's Court, or in Converſation and Viſits with the Perſons near his Highneſs, or moſt employ'd in the State. But he and my Lord *Arlington* were ſoon ſatisfy'd, to how little purpoſe he came over; for *the Prince, who was the ſincereſt Man in the World,*

Sylvius 76

* *Sir* William Temple's *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 131. *and his Letters*, Vol. III. p. 149.

hating

the Prince hating all TRICKS, *and thoſe that us'd them*, gave him no Mark of the leaſt Confidence while he ſtaid, and ſent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by entruſting another Hand with all he writ of Conſequence into *England*, before he went into the Field. His Highneſs's Opinion of *Sylvius's* Journey was, That Lord *Arlington* had deſign'd it out of ſpite to Sir *William Temple*, and to give Jealouſy to the Confederates, as ſuſpecting ſomething in agitation between the King and the Prince, that Sir *William* was not thought fit to be truſted with: And indeed ſeveral of the Miniſters at the *Hague* were apt to fall into ſuch Surmiſes; but *De Lyra*, a *Spaniſh* Miniſter, a Perſon much in Credit in his own Court, and much in the Prince's Confidence, was ever firm in the belief of his Highneſs's Honour and Conſtancy, (which he us'd to ſay, his Maſter truſted to more than to any Treaties) and ſo help'd to prevent thoſe dangerous Impreſſions.

The Prince being ready to take the Field, told Sir *William Temple*, that before he went, he muſt have ſome talk with him in private, and at leiſure; and for that purpoſe deſir'd it might be in the Garden of *Honſlardyke*. Being met at the Time and Place appointed, his Highneſs told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, *That being the only Son that was left of his Family, he was often preſs'd by his Friends to think of marrying, and had many Perſons propos'd to him, as their ſeveral Humours led them. That for his own part, he knew that was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the Thoughts of it, otherwiſe than in general, till the War was ended. That, beſides his own Friends, the Deputies of the States began to preſs him more earneſtly every day; and the more, in that they ſaw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more reaſon to do it than any others. That he had, at laſt, promis'd them he would think of it more*

more ſeriouſly, and particularly, and ſo he had reſolv'd he would marry; but the choice of a Perſon he thought more difficult. That he found himſelf inclin'd to no Propoſals made him out of France or Germany, nor indeed to any that had been mention'd upon this Occaſion by any of his Friends, but that of England. That before he concluded to make any Advances that way, he was reſolv'd to have Sir William's Opinion upon two Points; but yet would not ask it, unleſs he promiſed to anſwer him as a Friend, or, at leaſt, an indifferent Perſon. Sir William telling him he ſhould be obey'd; his Highneſs went on, and ſaid, That he would confeſs to him, that during the late War, neither the States, nor he in particular, were without Applications made them from ſeveral Perſons, and conſiderable, in England, who would fain have engag'd them to head the Diſcontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was begun and carry'd on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation; and might, perhaps, have prov'd very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did. That all thoſe Perſons, who pretended to be very much his Friends, were extremely againſt any Thoughts of his marrying in England. Their Reaſons were, that he would by it loſe all the Eſteem and Intereſt he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Diſpoſitions and Deſigns of the Court, which were generally thought ſo different from thoſe of the Nation, eſpecially upon the Point of Religion. That his Friends there did not believe the Government could be long without ſome great Diſturbance, unleſs they chang'd their Meaſures, which was not eſteem'd very likely to be done: and upon this he deſir'd the Ambaſſador's Thoughts as a Friend. The next was upon the Perſon and Diſpoſitions of the young Lady; for tho it would not paſs in the World for a Prince to ſeem concern'd in thoſe Particulars, yet for himſelf he would tell him, without any ſort of Affectation, that he was ſo, and in ſuch a Degree, that no

Circumſtances of Fortune or Intereſt would engage him, without thoſe of the Perſon; eſpecially thoſe of Humour and Diſpoſitions. That he might, perhaps, be not very eaſy for a Wife to live with; he was ſure he ſhould not to ſuch Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age. That if he ſhould meet with one to give him Trouble at home, 'twas what he ſhould not be able to bear, who was like to have enough Abroad in the Courſe of his Life: And that after the manner he was reſolv'd to live with a Wife, which ſhould be the beſt he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon her Diſpoſition and Education; and if Sir William *knew any thing particular of the Lady* Mary, *in theſe Points, he deſir'd him to tell him freely.*

Sir *William Temple* anſwer'd his Highneſs, *That he was very glad to find, he was reſolv'd to marry, being what he ow'd his Family and his Friends. That he was much pleas'd his Inclinations led him to endeavour it in* England. *That he thought it as much for his Highneſs's Intereſt, as others of his* Engliſh *Friends thought it was againſt it. That the King and his Highneſs were able to do one another more Good or more Harm, than any other Princes could do either of them, by being Friends or Enemies. That it was a great Step to be one Degree* nearer the Crown, *and in all appearance the* Next. *That for his Friends (as they pretended) in* England, *they muſt ſee much farther than he did, to believe the King in any ſuch Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin'd. That the Crown of* England *ſtood upon ſurer Foundations than ever it had done in former Times, and the more for what had paſs'd in the laſt Reign: And that he believ'd the People would be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himſelf believ'd them. That it was, however, in his power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to make as ſhort Turns to ſuch an end; if not, yet with the help of a little good Husbandry, he might paſs his Reign in Peace, tho not*

perhaps

perhaps with ſo much Eaſe at Home, or Glory Abroad, as if he fell into the Vein of his People. That if the Court were of Sentiments different from thoſe of his Highneſs, yet his Adviſers would make him a greater Compliment, in believing him as likely to reduce the Court to his, as in concluding they would bring him to theirs; and if that ſhould happen, the moſt ſeditious Men in England *would be hard put to it to find an ill ſide in ſuch a Match. That for the other Point, he could ſay nothing to it, but that he had always heard his Wife and his Siſter ſpeak with all the Advantage that could be, of what they could diſcern in a Princeſs ſo young; and more from what they had been told by the Governeſs, with whom they had a particular Friendſhip; and who, they were ſure, took all the Care that could be in ſo much of the Princeſs's Education as fell to her ſhare.*

After two Hours Diſcourſe upon this matter, the Prince concluded to enter upon his Purſuit, and in order to it, would write both to the King and the Duke to beg their Favour to him in it, and their Leave, that he might go over into *England* at the end of the Campaign. That Sir *William Temple*'s Lady, a Perſon of admirable Senſe and Addreſs, who was then going over upon private Affairs, ſhould carry and deliver both his Letters; and during her ſtay, ſhould endeavour to inform her ſelf the moſt particularly ſhe could, of all that concern'd the Perſon, Humour, and Diſpoſition of the young Princeſs, in which he ſeem'd ſo much concern'd. Within two or three Days, his Highneſs brought his Letters to Sir *William*'s Lady; went immediately to the Army, and ſhe ſuddenly after into *England* with thoſe important Diſpatches.

The Meaſures that were taken towards a Peace, made the contending Parties the more diligent in their Preparations for War. The *French* were upon their March into *Flanders*, and that King at the

head of a numerous and brave Army, threatning great Enterprizes. The Prince of *Orange* went alſo into the Field, with Reſolution and Hopes of having the Honour of a Battel at the opening of the Campaign; ſo that all thoughts of the Congreſs meeting before the end of it, were laid aſide: when about the middle of *May*, Sir *William Temple* receiv'd the *French* Paſſports for the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Miniſters, in the Form inſiſted on by the Allies: And hereupon all Difficulties being remov'd, the Paſſports were exchang'd by the end of *May*.

About the beginning of *July*, that Miniſter went to the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*, where the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors being already arriv'd, preſs'd very much for his coming, in regard Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, the other *Engliſh* Mediator, excus'd himſelf from entring upon any Buſineſs, till Sir *William Temple*'s Arrival.

Before Sir *William* left the *Hague*, Monſieur *Du Moulin* met his Chaplain in the *Forhout*, and told him, 'He was ſo ill that he knew he had not long to 'live, and that he could not die in quiet, without 'asking Sir *William*'s Pardon for ſo many falſe and 'injurious things as he confeſs'd to have ſaid of 'him ſince his laſt Embaſſy there, tho he had be'fore had all the Eſteem that could be for his Ex'cellency. And deſir'd the Chaplain, ſince Sir *Wil'liam* had always refus'd to ſee him, that he would 'do this Office for him, and *ask his Excellency's* '*Pardon, as from a dying Man.*' This *Du Moulin*, after having been much employ'd and favour'd by the Lord *Arlington*, during the Counſels and Vogue of the *Triple Alliance*, and diſgrac'd by him after the Change of thoſe Meaſures in *England*, went over into *Holland*; was entertain'd by the Prince as one of his Secretaries; grew into great Favour and Confidence during the War; was made uſe of by the

the Diſcontented in *England* in their Applications at the *Hague*; and was thought worth all my Lord *Arlington*'s Inſtances and Endeavours at the *Hague*, to remove him from the Prince's Service. Sir *William Temple* receiv'd afterwards Commands to the ſame purpoſe; and compaſs'd it, tho not without Time and Difficulty. *Du Moulin* had not been long laid aſide, when this happen'd; and whether that, or the knowledg of the Prince's late Reſolution to purſue the Match in *England*, help'd to break his Heart, or whether it were a Conſumption, as his Friends gave out, he died ſoon after; and with him the Intrigues of that Party in *England*, that had for ſome time employ'd him, and buſy'd his Friends in *Holland*.

Sir *William Temple* * excus'd himſelf from letting the Magiſtrates of *Nimeguen* know what time he deſign'd his Arrival there, tho they had ſent to inform themſelves while he was upon the way: and he refus'd any Ceremonies at his Entry, to prevent that Pretence in other Ambaſſadors, and the Troubles and Diſturbances ſuch publick Receptions might occaſion. However, he could not eſcape ſome part of it, *viz.* the firing of the Cannon of the Town, when he was going over a Bridg made of looſe Planks, to go into a Boat, in order to croſs part of the River; for which Civility he had like to have paid a great deal more than 'twas worth, his Excellencies Horſes being ſo unruly with that Noiſe, and the clutter of the Planks, that they were much likelier to have carry'd him into the River than the Boat. But with the help of his Servants on Foot, he got ſafe into the Boat, and ſo † to the Town, where he landed in Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s Houſe, and ſtaid there till late in the Evening, to avoid any Viſits or Ceremonies that Night.

* *See his Memoirs*, Part II. p. 164.

† July 12. N. S.

The

The next Day Sir *William* was viſited by the three *French* Ambaſſadors, *viz.* the Mareſchal *D'Eſtrades* Governor of *Maeſtricht*, Monſieur *Colbert*, and Count *D'Avaux*: in which Viſit little paſs'd, but what is common upon ſuch occaſions: But the two firſt being of Sir *William*'s particular Acquaintance in his former Embaſſies at the *Hague* and *Aix-la-Chapelle*, they pretended in their ſeparate Viſits, to enter with him upon Points and Terms of great Confidence, and upon matters that gave him Light into the whole Deſign of *France*, intended by the ſteps of this Treaty, to which they had of late ſhew'd ſo great FORWARDNESS *, at leaſt in the forming of this CONGRESS and Diſpatch of their Ambaſſadors, before thoſe of the Allies were in any Motions, or perhaps Diſpoſition towards it. They both told him, 'That they had expreſs and 'private Orders from the King their Maſter, to 'make him particular Compliments upon the E-'ſteem his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had for his Ex-'cellency's Perſon; and to make their Applications 'wholly to him in the Courſe of this Negotiation, 'tho one of the Mediators came from reſiding in 'their own Court: But they knew very well Sir '*William* had the King his Maſter's Confidence, as 'well as that of his Miniſters: And that having 'had the framing of this Congreſs from the firſt 'Overtures, and through all the Preliminaries, there 'was no other hand but his capable of finiſhing 'it; and therefore they preſag'd him all the Glory 'of it. That he might reckon upon all the Faci-'lity their Maſter could give towards it; but after 'ſuch great Succeſſes in the War, and at the head 'of ſo great Forces, both at Land and Sea, it

† *This is the Method* France *has ever purſu'd, in order to divide the Allies; among whom, there never fail'd to be ſome or other, who were eager to conclude a Peace.*

'could

'could not be expected he ſhould yield to reſtore 'what his Arms had conquer'd. On t'other ſide, 'they knew very well, tho the States were bent 'upon the Peace, yet the Frowardneſs, or extra-'vagant Demands of their Allies, would engage 'them as long as they could in the War, unleſs the 'Prince of *Orange* would interpoſe his Authority, 'which was ſo great with all the Allies, that they 'were ſure of their conſenting to whatever Terms 'the Prince ſhould be reſolute in propoſing for the 'Peace. That to draw it therefore to a happy 'Iſſue, there was no way but for his Highneſs firſt 'to agree privately with *France* upon the Condi-'tions, and what every Party ſhould content them-'ſelves with; and afterwards, in the Courſe of the 'Treaty, to draw all things, by concert together, 'to the Scope agreed between them; in which the 'Prince might make uſe of the known Temper of 'the States to bring it to a ſudden Iſſue, and to 'make a SEPARATE PEACE, in caſe the un-'reaſonable Pretences of their Allies ſhould hin-'der or delay a General One. That this part was 'acted by the *Elector* of *Bavaria* at *Munſter*, who 'was in private * to concert with *France*, through 'the whole Proceedings of that Treaty, tho he 'went on with the *Allies* in the Publick Tranſac-'tions. That he ow'd the Greatneſs of his Houſe 'to this Counſel, and to the Conſideration and 'Support it had ever ſince receiv'd from the Crown 'of *France*. That by purſuing the ſame at *Nimeguen*, 'it would be in the Prince of *Orange*'s power to 'do the ſame for himſelf and his Family: And 'that for what concern'd his own perſonal Inte-'reſts and Advantages, their Maſter had given 'them Power to aſſure him, he ſhould have the

* *Here's an egregious Inſtance of the conſtant Artifices of* France *to divide the Allies.*

'*Carte*

'*Carte Blanche*, and draw his own Conditions upon it. That tho they had other ways of making this Overture to the Prince, yet they had Order to do it by none but Sir *William Temple*, if he would charge himſelf with it. That they knew the Credit and Confidence his Excellency was in with the Prince; and how far he would have Deference to his Opinions in what concern'd the publick Intereſts of his Highneſs's Allies, as well as his own; and that if Sir *William* would eſpouſe that Affair, beſides the Glory of having *alone* given a Peace to *Chriſtendom*, he might reckon upon what he pleas'd himſelf, from the Bounty and Generoſity of the King their Maſter.' This was the Sum of what was ſaid by the Mareſchal *D'Eſtrades* and Monſieur *Colbert*, tho in ſeveral and private Viſits: But Sir *William* obſerv'd *Colbert* to have been inſtructed with more particular Confidence, and to deſign it with Sir *William*, even apart from both his Collegues, and the other *Engliſh* Mediator, in the purſuit of this Intelligence.

Sir *William Temple* anſwer'd, 'That he was oblig'd to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for his good Opinion, and to them for having given it him, not having himſelf at all the Honour of being known to him. That he ſhould make no ill uſe of this great Honour and Confidence, whether he ſhould be able to make a good one or no. That for his *Britannick* Majeſty's Diſpoſitions to promote the Peace, they knew them as well as he; but that many Conſiderations had engag'd him to inſtruct his Miniſters, the MEDIATORS, only TO PROMOTE A GENERAL PEACE; and NOT TO ENTER INTO any Meaſures towards ANY PARTICULAR one, or SEPARATE, which ſuch a *private and previous Concert* between *France* and the Prince of *Orange* would look very like: and therefore he (Sir *William*) did not ſee, how he

could

'could enter upon it, without particular Orders 'from the King. That, beſides, he would confeſs 'to them, that he did not think it would be of 'any great Effect, if he ſhould receive them; and 'that the beſt Service he could do the *French* Am-'baſſadors, was to let them know very freely all 'that he knew, or, at leaſt, thought of the Prince 'of *Orange*, and his Diſpoſitions in this great Affair, 'that they might the better gueſs what Paces to 'expect from him. That he was ſure he deſir'd 'the Peace as much as the States could do. That 'the weak Conduct of *Spain*, and diſtracted Coun-'ſels of the Empire, was enough to force him 'upon it. That the Prince knew very well, there 'would be no Difficulty at all in the Terms of 'Peace between *France* and *Holland*; and that all 'would ariſe from their Allies, who had entred 'into the War only in their Defence. That their 'FAITH and HONOUR were ſince engag'd by many 'TREATIES, which hinder'd them from making 'any SEPARATE PEACE. That in all thoſe 'Treaties the *Prince*'s HONOUR was more parti-'cularly engag'd; upon which perſonally the ſeve-'ral Princes Confederates were known to rely more 'than upon any publick Reſolution, or Inſtruments 'of the States. That if any Offers could be made, 'towards bringing his Highneſs out of this War, 'with the Safety of his Honour, by the Satisfac-'tion of his Allies, he (Sir *William*) was ſure he 'would fall into them with Joy; but would never 'be induc'd to break from them againſt all Faith, 'by *ſeparate Meaſures*, but by the laſt Extremities 'of the War, or Neceſſities at home. That for 'his own perſonal Intereſts, he was confident 'no Advantages to be offer'd him, would ever be 'conſider'd by his Highneſs. That tho any ſuch 'Offers, more than were avow'd in the Courſe of 'the Treaty, would, he believ'd, be taken ill by

'his Highneſs, from any who ſhould make them; 'yet, whenever he ſaw him next, he would tell his 'Highneſs all that had paſs'd in theſe Converſa-'tions: But for the Deference they believ'd his 'Highneſs might have for his Sentiments, Sir *Wil-'liam* aſſur'd them, his Opinion was, his Highneſs 'had none for his, or any Man's elſe, further 'than as their Arguments prevail'd upon his Judg-'ment. That he had Senſe enough to govern 'himſelf, and he believ'd he would always truſt to 'it, tho he might adviſe with other Men.' After theſe Converſations, during the time Sir *William Temple* ſtaid at *Nimeguen*, Monſieur *Colbert* made many ſmall Attacks of this kind upon him; and ſometimes contented himſelf only to let fall ſome things, to try if Sir *William* was diſpos'd to enter further upon that Subject: But the Mareſchal *D'Eſtrades* immediately after began to turn his Battery, another way; which was upon Penſionary *Fagel*, by the Intervention of a Perſon of *Maeſtricht*, many of whoſe Letters the Penſionary ſhew'd to Sir *William*; and with all the Offers that could be made of Conſideration and Advantage to the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſts: which met with no other Reception from his Highneſs, than what the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had foretold.

After the firſt Viſits between the Miniſters *Mediators* and the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, the former receiv'd a Viſit from the Magiſtrates of *Nimeguen*, who, by Order from the States, offer'd to reſign to their Excellencies Diſpoſitions, the Government of the City during the preſent Treaty. The *Mediators* told them, it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, That they ſhould not at all intermeddle with it; but that, on the contrary, they ſhould conſign into the hands of the ordinary Juſtice of the Town, any of their Domeſticks that ſhould be guilty of any Crime againſt the Peace or Government

of

of the Place; and that Juſtice ſhould be done upon them, according to their Faults. Moreover, the *Mediators* propos'd ſome *Regulations*, for the Order and Quiet of ſo numerous an Aſſembly as this was like to prove; which being drawn up by Sir *William Temple* *, were wholly approv'd and conſented to by the *Dutch*, and, after ſome Demur and ſmall Alterations, by the *French* Plenipotentiaries. And it is to be obſerv'd, to Sir *William*'s Honour, that theſe *Regulations* were the *Standard* of thoſe made in *ſubſequent Treaties*. And Oh! that his POLITICKS had been ſo too! The *Mediators* apply'd themſelves likewiſe to the Eſtabliſhment of ſome Compaſs of *Neutral Country* about *Nimeguen*, for the Security, Convenience, and Diverſion of the Ambaſſadors and their Attendants: The ſettling of which matter took up ſome time, by reaſon of ſome Difficulties † ſtarted by the *French* Court.

The general Points of the *Ceremonial* being adjuſted, Sir *William Temple* thought fit to regulate one particularly relating to the *Mediators*, who declar'd, That *they would dine with no Ambaſſador till the Peace was concluded, being deſirous to avoid the Troubles and Engagements of perpetual Invitations, as well as the Unkindneſs of Excuſes, at one time, or to ſome Perſon more than another.* But, however, both Sir *William Temple*'s and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s Tables were open, each of them three Days in the Week, two Poſt Days being reſerv'd to themſelves for Buſineſs, and one for Diverſion or Exerciſe abroad: And ſeveral of the Ambaſſadors, eſpecially the *French*, came to their Tables notwithſtanding this Reſolution, which they ſeem'd to take a little to heart; and was undoubtedly meant by Sir *William* to prevent, in ſome meaſure, their Cabals and In-

* *See his Memoirs*, Part II. p. 176.
† Ubi ſupra, *p.* 180.

trigues. To make 'em ſome Amends, the Mediators divided the Nights by Turns, where there were any Ladies in the Ambaſſadors Houſes, and where the Evenings were ſpent in Dancing or Play, and careleſs and eaſy Suppers or Collations. In theſe Entertainments, as Sir *William* ſeldom fail'd of making a part, and his Collegue never had any; ſo it gave occaſion for a Jeſt that paſs'd upon it, *Que* * *la Mediation étoit toujours ſur Pied pour faire ſa Fonction:* For Sir *William* us'd both to go to Bed, and riſe, late; while Sir *Lionel* was a-Bed by Eight, and up by Four. And indeed, as Sir *William* aſſures us †, *Two more different Men were never join'd in one Commiſſion, nor agreed better in it.*

As for Buſineſs, there was very little for many Months after the *Congreſs* began, till the Arrival of the Imperial Miniſters. When the Aſſembly was compleated, a Place of Conference was, with much Difficulty, agreed at the Stadthouſe of *Nimeguen*, where two Chambers were allotted for the Parties at War, and one for the Mediators. Nor was there any Point that gave them more Trouble, than the adjuſting ‖ of this. For the *French* were from the very firſt, *moſt declaredly averſe from Treating* by WRITINGS, or from agreeing to a Place of *publick Conference*; conceiving this would tend to keep the Body of the *Confederacy united in the Treaty, as well as in the War*; whereas their *Deſign was to* BREAK THAT UNION IN THE CONGRESS, *which they could not* (AT THAT TIME) in the FIELD.

In the mean time, the Succeſſes of the Campaign, that were expected abſolutely to govern the Progreſs of the Treaty, ran as high to the Advantage

* *That is*, That the Mediation was always on foot, to go on with its Buſineſs.

† Ubi ſupra, *p.* 185. ‖ Ubi ſupra, *p.* 187.

of

of the *French*, as to the Diſadvantage of the *Swedes*, their Allies. By force of great Treaſures and good Management of them, the *French* Magazines were always fill'd in the Winter, and they able to take the Field as ſoon as they pleas'd in the Spring: Whereas the *Spaniards*, for want of Mony and Order, were uncapable either to act by themſelves upon any ſudden Attempt, or to ſupply with Proviſions in their March, either the *Dutch* or *Germans* that came to their Relief. By theſe means, the *French* King took *Condé* in four Days, towards the latter end of *April*; the Duke of *Orleans* carried *Bouchain* on the 12th of *May*, after five Days Siege; *Aire* ſuffer'd the ſame Fate on the laſt of *July*; and the Fort of *Linck* was taken on the 9th of *Auguſt*. On the other hand, the *Dutch* ſuſtain'd an irreparable Loſs in the Death of their famous Admiral *De Ruyter*, who was ſhot in a Sea-Engagement between the *French*, and the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, near *Meſſina*: and the Prince of *Orange* was, by the Mareſchal *De Schonberg*, oblig'd to raiſe the Siege of *Maeſtricht*, with the Glory, however, of having receiv'd a Musket-ſhot in his Arm.

The Campaign being over, the Parties engag'd in the War began to turn their Thoughts, or, at leaſt, their Eyes, more towards the Motions of the Treaty of Peace, than hitherto they had done; and the Prince of *Orange*, much diſſatisfy'd with the Conduct, Slowneſs, and Supineneſs of the Confederates, deſir'd an Interview with Sir *William Temple* at *Soeſdyke*, near *Amesfort*. *Here his Highneſs complain'd much of the Counſels of his Allies, the Weakneſs, or rather Uſeleſneſs of the* Spaniſh *Troops in* Flanders, *for want of Pay or Order: The Imperial Armies acting without Deſign upon the* Rhine, *and with a Dependence upon Orders from* Vienna, *where the Emulation of the Miniſters wrought ſuch Diſtraction and Counterpaces in their Generals, that the Campaign*

paign had been ſpent with ſmall Efforts, after the Promiſes of vigorouſly invading either Lorrain *or* France. *How the Dukes of* Lunenburgh *had fail'd of ſending their Troops to* Maeſtricht; *which, with the Sickneſs in the Camp, had render'd that Siege ineffectual, ſo that he began to deſpair of any good Iſſue of the War, and would be glad to hear his Excellency hop'd for a better of the Peace, upon their Scene at* Nimeguen. Sir *William* told his Highneſs, how little Advances had been hitherto made, by the Slowneſs of his Allies in diſpatching their Miniſters thither: How little Succeſs could be expected from the Pretenſions of the Parties when they ſhould meet, *eſpecially* France *pretending to retain all they had got by the War, and* Spain *to recover all they had loſt. How the King his Maſter ſeem'd of the Mind to concern himſelf no farther than as a Mediator, his Miniſters Orders being only to convey the Mind or Propoſals of the Parties one to another, and even to avoid the Offers of any References upon them to his Majeſty's Determination: ſo that it was his Opinion, that it muſt be the War alone that muſt make the Peace; and that he ſuppos'd it would, at one time or another, by the Weakneſs or Wearineſs of one of the Parties.* The Prince ſeem'd to be of Sir *William*'s mind, and ſaid, *The Events of War would depend upon the Conduct at* Madrid *and* Vienna, *before the next Campaign; for without ſome great Succeſs, he could not believe the States would be induc'd to continue it longer.* Thereupon Sir *William* told his Highneſs, what Diſcourſe he had had with Monſ. *Colbert*, upon his Arrival at *Nimeguen*, in which his Highneſs was principally concern'd; whom the *French* would have gratify'd in any thing, if he did but prove compliable upon the Terms of the Peace. To this the Prince reply'd coldly, *He had heard enough of the ſame kind another way, which Monſieur* D'Eſtrades *had found out to Penſionary* Fagel, *but that they knew him little, who made ſuch Overtures: And as for his*

own

own Intereſts and Advantages, let them find a way of ſaving his Honour, by ſatisfying Spain, *and nothing of his Concern ſhould retard the Peace for an Hour.*

The Converſation being thus ended, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador return'd to *Nimeguen*, where the *French* made all the Advances they could towards the Progreſs of the Treaty; and they were, no doubt, in earneſt, being in a Poſture to inſiſt upon their preſent Poſſeſſions: And having made a great hand of this laſt Summer, were willing, like winning Gameſters, to give over, unleſs oblig'd to play on by the Loſers. The *Swedes* were more in haſte, and in earneſt for the Peace than any. The *Dutch* were grown impatient for it, finding *France* would make no difficulty of any thing between them: but *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* were as violent againſt it; having ſwallow'd up, in their Hopes, all that *Sweden* had poſſeſs'd in *Germany*; and the Emperor ſeem'd to pretend little more, after the taking of *Philipsburgh* the laſt Summer, beſides the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*, and the Towns of *Alſace*, to the poſture they were left in by the *Munſter* Treaty: yet they were ſo faſt link'd both with their *German* Allies, as well as *Spain*, that they reſolv'd to make no Step in the Treaty but by common Conſent. On the other hand, *Spain*, tho ſenſible of the ill Condition of their Affairs, both in *Flanders* and in *Sicily*; yet upon a Deſign then hatching at *Madrid*, for removing the Queen Regent and her Miniſtry, to place *Don John* at the head of the Government, had conceiv'd great Hopes to recover thoſe deſperate Infirmities, which their inveterate Diſorders, both in Counſels and Conduct, had for a long time occaſion'd: Beſides the Aſſurances they had ſtill given them from their Miniſters in *England*, that his *Britannick* Majeſty would not, after all, be contented to ſee *Flanders* loſt, or would be forc'd into the War by the Humour of the Parliament.

ment. For theſe Reaſons, the Allies ſeem'd to make no haſte at all to the Congreſs. But about the end of *September*, the *French* Ambaſſadors gave the *Engliſh Mediators* notice, that their Maſter was reſolv'd to recal his Ambaſſadors, unleſs thoſe of the chief Confederates ſhould repair to *Nimeguen* within the ſpace of a Month. This the *Mediators* communicated to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, and they to the States; who, after ſome Conference with the Miniſters of the Allies, came to a Reſolution, that they would enter upon the Treaty themſelves, if the Miniſters of their Confederates ſhould not repair to *Nimeguen* by the firſt of *November*, *old Stile*. This Reſolution had ſo good Effect, that the ſeveral Allies did, upon it, begin to haſten away one or other of their intended Ambaſſadors towards *Nimeguen*, (as Count *Kinski* from *Vienna*, *Don Pedro Ronquillo* from *England*, where he then reſided as *Spaniſh* Envoy) but not the Perſons principally intruſted, or at the head of their Embaſſies, nor with Powers to proceed further than Preliminaries: And from *Denmark* Monſieur *Heug*, without any News of Count *Antoine's* Preparation, who was appointed chief of that Embaſſy; any more than of the Biſhop of *Gurke*, or Marquiſs *de los Balbaces*, the chiefeſt of thoſe deſign'd from the Emperor and *Spain*. Upon the * delivery of the reſpective *Full-Powers* of the ſeveral Ambaſſadors into the hands of the Mediators in *November*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors made ſeveral Exceptions againſt ſome Expreſſions in the *French* and *Swediſh* Prefaces to their Powers. After much Debate, they all agreed in the deſiring the *Engliſh Mediators* to draw up a Form of Powers to be us'd by all Parties, which was done and approv'd by them all, with ſome Reſerve only from the *French*, whether it would be fit to

* November 21.

mention

mention any *Mediation*, ſince that of the *Pope* was left out; and ſome Overtures made to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, whether they would be content to leave out all mention of his Majeſty's *Mediation*, as well as that of the *Pope*. This they excus'd themſelves from doing, the whole Frame of the Congreſs having proceeded from his Majeſty's Mediation, without any Intervention of the *Pope*'s; and the King's having been accepted by all the Parties, which the *Pope*'s had not been; but on the contrary, the very mention of it in the Powers, proteſted againſt by ſeveral of them. Moreover, by Order they receiv'd from his *Britannick* Majeſty upon this Diſpute, they declar'd to all the Parties, That tho his Majeſty pretended not to exclude any other *Mediation* that the Parties ſhould think fit to uſe, yet *he could not in any wiſe act jointly with that of the* Pope, *nor ſuffer his Miniſters to enter into any Commerce, either of Viſits or Conferences, with any of his*, that might be employ'd at *Nimeguen*. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador agreed with the *French* in this one Point, of deſiring either that the *Pope*'s *Mediation* might be mention'd in their Powers, or that his *Britannick* Majeſty, in conſideration of the Peace, would ſuffer his to be left out; but the *Danes*, on t'other ſide, agreed with the *Dutch* in refuſing to admit any Power with mention of the *Pope*'s *Mediation*. There aroſe likewiſe another Difficulty, from a ſeeming Expedient propos'd by the *Dutch*, of having from each Party ſeveral Powers granted for treating with the ſeveral Parties they were in War with; which the *French* refus'd, or to grant other Powers than for the *Dutch* and their Allies: and in theſe Diſputes the Year 1676 ended.

About the latter end of *December*, the Prince of *Orange* writ very earneſtly to Sir *William Temple* to make a ſtep, for ſome few Days, to the *Hague*: And Sir *William* finding all things without preſent

Motion at *Nimeguen*, went thither the laſt Day of the Year. The firſt of the next having attended his Highneſs, they fell into large Diſcourſes of the Progreſs of the Treaty, and Coldneſs of the Parties; the affected Delays of the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards*; the declar'd Averſion of the *Danes* and *Brandenburghers*; and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal Steps of this *Congreſs*: Upon all which, the Prince ask'd the *Engliſh* Miniſter, Whether he had heard any more of his Majeſty's Mind upon the Peace? Sir *William* told him, that he remembred a Saying in his Majeſty's laſt Letter to him upon that Subject; which was, *That he concluded from the Prince's Diſcourſes to Sir* William, *that he had no mind to a Peace. That he was ſorry for it, becauſe he thought it was his Intereſt to have it. That he had try'd to know the Mind of* France *upon it; but if they would not open themſelves farther of one ſide, nor his Highneſs on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himſelf with performing his Part of a Mediator, and in the common Forms.* The Prince told Sir *William, This look'd very cold, ſince his Majeſty was alone able to make the Peace; and knew very well what it would come to, by the Forms of the Congreſs. That for his own part, he deſir'd it, and had a great deal of reaſon, both becauſe his Majeſty ſeem'd to do ſo, and to think it his own Intereſt as well as the Prince's, and becauſe the States not only thought it their Intereſt, but abſolutely neceſſary for them. That he would not ſay this to any but the King, by Sir* William; *becauſe if* France *ſhould know it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the Terms. That both* Spain *and the* Emperor *had leſs mind to it now, than they had at the end of the laſt Campaign; ſo that none of the Allies had a mind to it, beſides the States. That for his own part, he ſhould always be in the ſame Mind with them; and that if his Majeſty would let him know freely the Conditions upon which*

either

either he desir'd, or believ'd it might be made, he would endeavour to concert it the best he could with his Majesty, and that with all the Freedom and Sincerenes in the World; so it might be done with any Safety to his own Honour, and the Interest of his Country. All which he desir'd Sir *William Temple* to write directly to his Majesty from him.

Two Days after, Sir *William* had a Conference with Pensionary *Fagel*, wherein the latter confirm'd to him, *That the States not only desir'd a Peace from their Hearts, but thought it absolutely necessary for them; nay, that they would not insist upon a Peace according to their Allies Pretensions; nor could he answer that they would not make a* SEPARATE ONE. Sir *William Temple* reply'd, *That was a matter of such moment, as he was sure they would think of it another Year, before they did it.* With this the Pensionary began a Discourse with more Heat and Earnestness than agreed well with the Posture of Health he was in, saying, *That they had thought enough of it already, and with thinking much, began to find it was without Remedy.* Then he fell into Expostulations with their Allies, but principally the *Spaniards*; and concluded, *That tho he should agree to a* SEPARATE TREATY *with the greatest Regret that could be, yet he did not see what else was to be done; and did not know one Man in* Holland *that was not of the same Mind.* Sir *William* ask'd him, *What he reckon'd would become of* Flanders, *after the* Dutch *had made their* SEPARATE PEACE; *because the Fate of that Country was that whereon the rest of their Neighbours were concern'd, as well as they?* Monsieur *Fagel* answer'd, *That he believ'd* Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, *and* Mons, *might be lost in one Summer. That after their Loss, the great Towns within would not offer at defending themselves, excepting* Antwerp *and* Ostend; *for which, perhaps, they might take some Measures with* France, *as he knew*

the French *had offer'd Monſieur* De Wit *upon their firſt Invaſion in* 1667. Sir *William Temple* interrupting him, ask'd him, *How he reckon'd their State was to live with* France, *after the Loſs of* Flanders? *And if he thought it could be otherwiſe than at* DISCRETION? The Penſionary deſir'd his Excellency to believe, *That if they could hope to ſave* Flanders *by the War, they would not think of a* SEPARATE PEACE; *but if it muſt be loſt, they had rather it ſhould be by the laſt, which would leſs exhauſt their Country, and diſhonour the Prince. That after* Flanders *was loſt, they muſt live ſo with* France, *as would make them find it their Intereſt rather to preſerve their State, than to deſtroy it. That the* French *could make better uſe of the* Dutch FLEETS, *than of the few Fiſher-Towns, that they ſhould be reduc'd to, if any Violations were made, either upon their Liberties or Religion. That the King of* France *had ſeen their Country, and knew it; and ſaid upon all Occaſions,* That he had rather have them for his *Friends,* than his *Subjects. That the* Separate Treaty *was not to be choſen, but to be ſwallow'd like a* deſperate Remedy. *That for his own part, he had ever believ'd that* England *would cry* ALT, *at one Step or other that* France *was making; and that if the* Engliſh *would be content to ſee* HALF Flanders *loſt, yet they would not* ALL, *nor* Sicily *neither, for the Intereſt of their Trade in the* Mediterranean. *That the King of* Great Britain *had the Peace in his Hands for theſe two Years paſt, and might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon ſuch Conditions as he ſhould think fit, for Juſtice and Safety to the reſt of his Neighbours, as well as himſelf. That all Men knew* France *was not in a Condition to refuſe whatever Terms his* Britannick *Majeſty reſolv'd on; or to venture a War with* England, *in Conjunction with the reſt of the Allies. That they had long repreſented all this in* England *by Monſieur* Van Beuningen, *and offer'd his Majeſty to be the* ARBITER

BITTER *of the Peace; but not a word in Anſwer, and all receiv'd with ſuch* Coldneſs *as never was: the other People thought the* Engliſh *had more reaſon to be concern'd, ſince* AFTER A SEPARATE PEACE THE AIMS OF FRANCE WOULD BE MORE UPON ITALY, OR GERMANY, OR PERHAPS UPON ENGLAND.

The next Morning Sir *William Temple* acquainted the Prince with his Conference with the Penſionary, and how, among other things, he ſaid, *That he ſaw nothing elſe to be done, but to make a* SEPARATE PEACE; *and that he knew not a Man in* Holland *who was not of his mind.* Thereupon the Prince interrupted him, ſaying, *Yes, I am ſure I know one, and that is my ſelf; and I will do it as long as I can.* Sir *William* ask'd him, Whether he was of the Penſionary's Mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campaign? His Highneſs anſwer'd, *The Appearances were ill, but Campaigns did not always end as they began. That Accidents might happen, which no Man could foreſee; and that if they came to one fair Battel, none could anſwer for the Event. That the King might make the Peace, if he pleas'd, before it began; but if the* Engliſh *were ſo indifferent as to let this Seaſon paſs, for his part he muſt go on and take his Fortune. That he had ſeen that Morning, a poor old Man tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars againſt the Eddy of a Sluce, upon a Canal: that when, with the laſt Endeavours, he was juſt got up to the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy carry'd him quite back again; but he turn'd his Boat as ſoon as he could, and fell to his Oars again, and thus three or four times whilſt he ſaw him; concluding this old Man's Buſineſs and his, were too like one another; and that he ought, however, to do juſt as the old Man did, without knowing what would ſucceed, any more than what did in the Poor Man's Caſe.*

The

The Reſult of theſe Conferences, Sir *William Temple* very particularly repreſented to the Court of *England*, that his Majeſty might want no Lights that were ſo neceſſary upon ſo nice, and yet ſo dangerous a Conjuncture. The King anſwer'd him in a long Letter of his own Hand, *Complaining much of the Confederate Miniſters in* London *cabalting with Parliament-Men, and raiſing all Men's Spirits as high againſt the* Peace *as they could: And that they had done it to ſuch a degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any Steps with* France *towards a* GENERAL TREATY, *unleſs the* Dutch *Ambaſſador would firſt put in a Memorial, preſſing his Majeſty, from the States, to do it; and declaring, That without it, they ſaw* Flanders *would be loſt.* The Prince and Penſionary were both willing the King ſhould be comply'd with, in relation to the Steps and Language of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *London:* But his Highneſs preſs'd Sir *William* to write once more to know his Majeſty's Opinion upon the Terms of the Peace; *or elſe,* he ſaid, *it would be too late, while the Seaſon advanc'd towards the Campaign.* Sir *William* deſir'd the Prince to conſider *, there would be three Weeks time loſt; and that his Majeſty would take it kinder, if his Highneſs explain'd himſelf firſt. The Prince paus'd a while, and then ſaid, *To ſhew the Confidence he deſir'd to live in with his Majeſty, he would make no farther difficulty of it, tho he might have many Reaſons for it. That if the King had a mind to make a ſudden Peace, he thought he muſt do it upon the foot of* Aix-la-Chapelle; *which he would have the more ground for, becauſe it was a Peace he both made and warranted. That for Exchanges, he thought there ſhould be no others propos'd upon it, but only of* Aeth *and* Charleroy, *for* Aire *and* St. Omer; *which two laſt, he thought, imparted a great deal more to* France *than*

* *See his Memoirs,* Part II. p. 225. & ſeq.

the

the others; unleſs they would declare, that they intended to end this War with the Proſpect of beginning another, by which they might get the reſt of Flanders. *That this was all that ſhould paſs between* France *and* Spain; *and for the Emperor and the States, that the firſt having taken* Philipsburgh *from the* French, *ſhould raze it; and the* French *having taken* Maeſtricht *from the* Dutch, *ſhould raze it too; and this whole War ſhould paſs, like a Whirlwind that had ceas'd, after it had threatned much, and made but little alteration in the World.* Sir *William Temple* was ſurpriz'd to hear a Propoſition ſo on the ſudden, ſo judicious, ſo ſhort, and ſo deciſive, and that ſeem'd ſo eaſy towards a ſhort Cloſe, if his *Britannick* Majeſty ſhould give into it. However, his Excellency obſerv'd to his Highneſs, that he had not explain'd what was to become of *Lorrain* and *Burgundy*; and next, Whether he believ'd it at all likely, that *France* ſhould come to ſuch Reſtitutions, of what they had lately acquir'd, without an Equivalent? The Prince reply'd, *Both were explain'd by the Terms he propos'd, of* Aix-la-Chapelle: *That for* Lorrain, France *never pretended to keep it, but from the laſt Duke only. That* Burgundy *could not be parted with by* Spain, *without the* French *reſtoring ſo many Towns in* Flanders, *as would raiſe endleſs Debates, and ſo leave the Buſineſs to the Deciſion of another Campaign. For the ſecond,* he ſaid, *he had reaſon to doubt it, and did not believe it would be done, but by his* Britannick *Majeſty's vigorous Interpoſition: But if his Majeſty would not endeavour it, the War muſt go on, and God Almighty muſt decide it. That for himſelf, the King could never do ſo kind a part, as to bring him with Honour out of it, and upon ſome moderate Terms; but if he was content that* France *ſhould make them inſupportable, the Allies would venture all, rather than receive them. And for* Holland's *making a Separate Peace, let the Penſionary, or any others, ſay what they would,*

would, they should never do it while he was alive, and was able to hinder it. And he would say one thing more, That he believ'd he was able to hinder it. That if he died, he knew it would be done the next Day; but when that should happen, this matter must be some others Care; and perhaps, THE ENGLISH WERE THE MOST CONCERN'D TO LOOK AFTER IT. Sir *William Temple* gave an account of this Discourse to his Majesty; and in the mean time, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* having discover'd a secret and separate Negotiation between the *French* and the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, inform'd the Court of it; and receiv'd an immediate Order from the King of *Great Britain*, That in case they found a Separate Peace concluding, or concluded, they should publickly protest against it in his Majesty's Name. This, however, was prevented by Sir *William Temple*'s representing, both to the Treasurer and Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, the insignificancy of such a Protestation; urging, 'That if a SEPARATE PEACE 'between *France* and *Holland* were thought as 'dangerous in the *Court*, as it was in the *Country*, 'the King might endeavour to prevent it, and had 'it still in his Power: But if it were once concluded, 'he did not see any other effect of our Protestation, unless it were to irritate both the Parties, 'and bind them the faster, by our being angry at 'their Conjunction. Nor did Sir *William* know 'what ground could be assign'd for such a Protestation; for tho the Parties had accepted his Majesty's Mediation, of a *General Peace*, yet none of 'them had oblig'd themselves to his Majesty, not 'to treat of a *Separate One*, or without his Offices, 'as *Mediator*. That as to *prevent the thing*, might 'be a very wise and necessary Counsel; so his Majesty's Resolution on it ought to be signify'd as 'early as could be, where it was likely to be of moment to that end, which was to FRANCE.

'That

'That it was better to anger any one of the Parties before a Separate Peace, rather than both of them after; and if we muſt ſtrain any Points of Courteſy with them, to do it rather by making a FAIR AND GENERAL PEACE, than by complaining or proteſting againſt a Separate One.' *But*, ſays Sir *William*, *the Counſels at Court were ſo in Ballance, between the Deſires of living at leaſt fair with* FRANCE, *and the Fears of too much diſpleaſing the Parliaments upon their frequent Seſſions, that our Paces upon this whole Affair, look'd all like croſs Purpoſes, which no Man, at Home or Abroad, could well underſtand; and were often miſtaken, by both Parties engag'd in the War, as well as by both Parties in the Houſe of Commons, till the* THING WAS WRESTED OUT OF OUR HANDS.

Sir *William Temple* having * receiv'd his Majeſty's Anſwer to his Diſpatches by the Prince's Directions, carry'd them immediately away to *Dieren*, and there communicated them to the Prince. The King's Anſwer conſiſted of two parts. The firſt, *An Offer of his Majeſty's entring into the ſtrongeſt Defenſive Alliance with the* Dutch, *thereby to ſecure them from all Apprehenſions from* France, *after the Peace ſhould be made.* And the ſecond was, his Majeſty's Remarks, rather than Concluſion, upon the Terms propos'd by the Prince for a Peace: *That he believ'd it might be compaſs'd with* France, *upon the Exchange of* Cambray, Aire, *and* St. Omer, *for* Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Condé, *and* Bouchain. *That this Scheme was what his Majeſty thought poſſible to be obtain'd of* France, *tho not what was to be wiſh'd.*

The Prince's Countenance chang'd when Sir *William Temple* nam'd *Cambray*, and the reſt of the Towns; nevertheleſs his Highneſs heard him through, and the many nice Reaſons of Sir *Joſeph*

* January 25. 1677.

Williamſon upon the matter, as of a *double Frontier*, this would give to *Flanders*; the Safety whereof his Majeſty and the States were moſt concern'd in, and many other ways *of cutting the Feather*. After which the Prince ſaid, He believ'd Dinner was ready, and they would talk of it when they had din'd; tho he would tell him now, and in few words, *That he muſt* RATHER DIE *than make ſuch a Peace*. After Dinner, the Prince told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, *That he had ſpoil'd his Dinner; that he had not expected ſuch a Return, of the Confidence he had begun towards his Majeſty. He obſerv'd, the Offer of an Alliance came to him in a Letter of his Majeſty's own hand; but that about the Terms of a Peace, from a Secretary only. That it was in a Stile, as if he thought him a Child, or to be fed with* WHIPT CREAM. *That ſince all theſe had been before the Foreign Committee, he knew very well it had been with the* French *Ambaſſador too*, &c. *That the Terms were his, and a great deal worſe than they could have directly from* France. *That, in ſhort, all muſt be ventur'd, ſince he was in, and found no other way out: and that he would rather charge a Thouſand Men with an Hundred; nay, tho he were ſure to die in the Charge, than enter into any Concert of a Peace upon theſe Conditions.*

Sir *William Temple* gave the King an account of all that paſs'd in this Interview at *Digrave*; and return'd to his Poſt at *Nimeguen*, where he found that Mr. *Laurence Hyde* * had encreas'd the number of the Mediators. That Gentleman having been ſent into *Poland* to chriſten that King's Child, and to condole with the Emperor, upon the late Empreſs's Death, had perform'd the firſt Compliment from his Majeſty; but upon his coming from thence to *Vienna*, found the Emperor married, and ſo paſs'd on privately home; and arriv'd at *Nime-*

* *The late Earl of* Rocheſter.

guen

guen ſoon after Sir *William* left it, upon his Journey to the *Hague*. Upon his return by *Rotterdam*, he there met Letters from Court, with a Commiſſion to ſtop, for ſome ſhort time, at *Nimeguen*, and take the Character of one of the Ambaſſadors Mediators; by which he might be enabled, at his Return, to give his Majeſty an account of the State and Progreſs of Affairs there. The purport of theſe Letters, Mr. *Hyde* communicated to Sir *William*; who, upon his ſeeming uncertain what to do, adviſ'd him to go back to *Nimeguen*, which he did; and made a part of the Embaſſy, during a ſhort ſtay there; but excus'd himſelf from entring into the Management of any Conferences or Diſpatches: So that by his Modeſty, and my Lord *Berkley*'s (who was at the head of the Embaſſy) great Age and Infirmities, the Fatigue of that Employment lay ſtill upon Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who writ alternatively the Diſpatches from the Embaſſy to Court, and the others to foreign Princes and Miniſters, by concert. Sir *William* found likewiſe, at his return to *Nimeguen*, ſome few Difficulties yet remaining, which obſtructed the Diſpatch intended about the Full-Powers; one particularly, which concern'd his *Britannick* Majeſty. Both *French* and *Spaniards*, as well as Imperialiſts, had inſiſted, even with Emulation, that the Pope's Mediation ſhould be mention'd in the new Powers, as well as his Majeſty's. But the *Dutch* and *Danes* abſolutely refuſing to treat upon that foot, it was, at length, reſolv'd, that the mention of his Majeſty's Mediation alone, ſhould be made in the ſeveral Powers. And ſo all being agreed, about the middle of *February* 1677, the ſeveral Acts were ſign'd, and put into the *Mediators* Hands, and by them exchang'd among the ſeveral Parties. After this diſpatch of the formal Preliminaries to the Treaty, the ſeveral Parties, by agreement, brought into the Hands

of the Mediators, their ſeveral Propoſitions or Pretenſions; by which it eaſily appear'd to the World, what wiſe Men knew before, how little hopes there were of a Peace, from the Motions of this Treaty; and how it was wholly to be expected from the Courſe and Influence of future Events in the Progreſs of the War.

About the 24th of *February*, Sir *William Temple*, upon the Prince of *Orange*'s deſire, went to his Highneſs's Houſe at *Soeſdyke*, a day's Journey from *Nimeguen*; and told his Highneſs the Contents of his laſt Diſpatch from *England*. The Prince ask'd him, Whether it were from the King himſelf, or any of his Miniſters? To which Sir *William* anſwering, It was from Secretary *Williamſon*, by the King's Command; the Prince ſaid, 'That he 'knew from whence it came; but, however, de-'ſir'd Sir *William* to read the Particulars to him: 'which were, the King's Apprehenſion of a Mi-'ſtake in the Prince; becauſe the Terms mention'd 'by his Majeſty were not any Propoſals (which he 'did not think his part to make) but only a piece 'of Confidence he had entred into with the Prince. 'Next, that the Exchange of *Cambray* was only 'propos'd, as a thing to be wiſh'd; that ſo ſix 'Towns might be reſtor'd to *Spain*, inſtead of Five 'the Prince had propos'd; which, in his Majeſty's 'Opinion, would make *a kind* of a *double Frontier* 'to *Bruſſels*, and ſo leave *Flanders* ſafer than by the 'Prince's Scheme. Therefore his Majeſty deſir'd 'his Highneſs to think further of it; and *not let 'it fall ſo flat as he did by his laſt Anſwer, without 'trying what it could be beaten out to.* But, however, 'that if his Highneſs had any other Propoſition to 'make to *France*, the King would very readily 'hand it over to them in the beſt manner he could.' Whilſt Sir *William Temple* was reading this to the Prince, his Highneſs could hardly hear it with any

any Patience, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*'s Style was always ſo diſagreeable to him; and he thought the whole Caſt of this ſo artificial, that he receiv'd it, at firſt, with Indignation and Scorn, rather than with thoſe further Thoughts that were deſir'd of him. He ſaid, 'The Style of *letting it fall ſo flat*, 'was my Lord *Arlington*'s, and *the double Frontier, as it were, for* Bruſſels, ſome of the Secretary's *whipt Cream*, and fit for Children. The reſt 'he took to be all the *French* Ambaſſador's; who 'would fain continue a private Treaty with him, 'by the King's Hand, while his Maſter went into 'the Field.' As to his Highneſs's Anſwer, it was very plain: 'That he had thought enough of it, 'and had no more to ſay at this time. That when 'he ſpoke to Sir *William* ſo lately at the *Hague*, 'he believ'd the Peace might have been made, and 'upon better Terms than he propos'd, if the King 'had deſir'd them from *France*, either upon Kindneſs to him, or *upon the Intereſts of his own Crowns*. 'That he was ſorry to find the King's Thoughts ſo 'different from his; and that whenever they grew 'nearer, he ſhould be glad to know it. But he 'look'd now upon the Campaign as begun, and believ'd, at the time they talk'd, the Guns were 'playing before *Valenciennes*. That he ſaw now no 'hopes of a Peace, but expected a long War, unleſs *Flanders* ſhould be loſt; and in that caſe, the 'States muſt make the beſt Terms they could. That 'he expected a very ill beginning of the Campaign, 'and to make an ill Figure in it himſelf, and to 'bear the ſhame of Faults that others would make: 'but if the Emperor perform'd what he promis'd, 'the Campaign might not end as it began. That 'however, he was in, and muſt go on; *adding*, And 'when one is at High Maſs, one is at it; meaning, 'one muſt ſtay till 'tis done, becauſe the Crowd is 'ſo great one can't get out.' After theſe, and ſome other

other Diſcourſes, the Prince went immediately away for the *Hague*, and Sir *William Temple* return'd to *Nimeguen*, where all Negotiations ſeem'd wholly at a ſtand, and ſo continu'd till towards the end of *April*.

Whilſt the Congreſs was amus'd with trivial Diſputes about *Viſits*, the eſſential parts of the Treaty were manag'd in the Field. *France* having, in the beginning of the Year, block'd up *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, and provided ſufficient Magazines for the Subſiſtence of their Troops, they began, about the end of *February*, to march into *Flanders*, and to make incurſions into the parts of *Germany* on t'other ſide the *Rhine*, with the moſt cruel Ravaging and Spoiling that was ever practis'd by the moſt ſavage and barbarous Enemies. The Allies made Complaints of this new manner of making War to his *Britannick* Majeſty, who faithfully employ'd his good Offices towards *France*, to hinder ſuch proſecution of a Quarrel, while a Peace was treating under his Majeſty's Mediation: But the thing was done, and the *French* had gain'd their Point; which was, by an intire Ruin of the Country, to hinder the Imperialiſts from finding any Subſiſtence for their Troops, if they ſhould march into *Alſace*, and thereby give a Diverſion to thoſe Forces that the *French* reſolv'd to employ in *Flanders*, before the *Dutch* could take the Field. Thus about the 17th of *March* the King of *France* took *Valenciennes*; from whence he march'd with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to *St. Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. After five Days ſiege, the City of *Cambray* ſurrender'd upon Articles; but the Citadel held out for ſome Days longer.

In the mean time, the *Dutch* having receiv'd their Payments due from *Spain*, and finding the *French* go on with their Deſign upon *Flanders*, whilſt the Treaty

Treaty ſerv'd but for an Amuſement, reſolv'd to carry on the War, at leaſt, another Campaign; being kept up to this Reſolution by the Vigour of the Prince. On the firſt Motion of the *French*, his Highneſs began to prepare for that of his Troops likewiſe; but for all the Diligence and Application that could be us'd, he could not come to the Relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*: But with part of the Forces of the States alone, and without other Troops, or ſo much as Guides furniſh'd by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly towards *St. Omer*. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a ſmall part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before that Place, march'd to meet the Prince of *Orange*; and upon the way was reinforc'd by Monſieur *de Luxemburgh*, with all the Troops the *French* King could ſpare from the Siege of the Cittadel of *Cambray*. Theſe Armies met, and fought with great Bravery at *Mount Caſſel*; where, after a ſharp Diſpute, the firſt Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break, and fell into Diſorder. The Prince went immediately to that part where the Shock began, rally'd them ſeveral times, and renew'd the Charge; but, at laſt, was born down by the Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to reſiſt like Enemies; and fell in among them with his Sword in his hand: and cutting the firſt he met croſs over the Face, he cried aloud, *Raſcal! I'll ſet a Mark on thee at leaſt, that I may hang you afterwards.* Voice nor Action, Threats nor Example could give Courage to Men that had already loſt it: and ſo the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Stream that carry'd him back to the reſt of his Troops, which yet ſtood firm; and with whom, and thoſe he could rally, he made a Retreat that came little ſhort of the Honour of a Victory. The Safety of the *Dutch* Army upon this Misfortune, was by them own'd to be wholly owing to his Highneſs's Conduct and Bravery, in the Courſe

of

of this Action: after which, both *St. Omer* and the Cittadel of *Cambray* were ſurrendred to the *French* about the 20th of *April*; with which the *Spaniards* loſt the main Strength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that ſide, as they had done that on the other, by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* in the former War: So as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier conſiderable, beſides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, and *Oſtend* and *Newport* to the Sea. The reſt of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* conſiſting only of great Towns, by which no Reſiſtance could be hop'd for, were like to become an entire Conqueſt whenever the *French* ſhould think fit to attack them. *But this*, ſays Sir *William Temple* *, *the* Spaniards *thought would never be ſuffer'd, neither by* England *nor* Holland; *and ſo they ſeem'd to have abandon'd the Fate of* Flanders *to their Care, with a Reſignation that became good Chriſtians, rather than good Politicians: For* (adds Sir *William*) *I have long obſerv'd from all I have ſeen or heard, or read in Story, that nothing is ſo fallacious, as to reaſon upon the Counſels or Conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the* TRUE INTEREST *of their Countries: for there is in all Places an* INTEREST OF THOSE THAT GOVERN, *and* another of thoſe that are govern'd; *nay, among theſe, there is an Intereſt of quiet Men, that deſire only to keep what they have, and another of unquiet Men, who deſire to acquire what they have not*; *and by* violent, *if they cannot by* lawful Means: *therefore I never could find a better way of judging the* Reſolutions *of a* State, *than by the* Perſonal Temper *and* Underſtanding, *or* Paſſions *and* Humours *of the* PRINCES *or* CHIEF MINISTERS, *that were for the time at the Head of Affairs.* But it ſeems the *Spaniards*, at that Juncture, *(as others have done ſince)* reaſon'd only from the Intereſt of each

* *See his Memoirs*, Part II. p. 260.

Country.

Country. They knew *Holland* would ſave *Flanders*, if they could; and *England* they were ſure, could, if they would; and believ'd would be brought to it at laſt, by the Increaſe of the Danger, and Force of their Intereſt, with the Humour of the People. In this hope they were entertain'd by their Miniſters then in *England*, Don *Bernard de Salinas* Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonſeca*, Conſul there; who very induſtriouſly fomented the Heats that began, about this time, to appear in the Parliament, upon the apprehenſions of the *French* Conqueſts, both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*: Which mov'd them, about the beginning of *March*, to addreſs the King, deſiring his Majeſty to put a ſtop to the Progreſſes of *France*, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours, and for that purpoſe, to ſtrengthen himſelf with ſtricter Alliances. Don *Bernard de Salinas* inform'd ſome of the Commons, that the King was very angry at this Addreſs, and had ſaid upon it, That *the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues*: Which made a great Noiſe in the Houſe of Commons. The King reſented it as a piece of Malice in *Salinas*, or at leaſt, a Deſign to inflame the Houſe; and thereupon order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain Days: Which prov'd afterwards a Precedent for ſending away ANOTHER FOREIGN MINISTER, *much upon the like Pique.* Yet about two Months after, the Parliament made another Addreſs *, deſiring his Majeſty to make a League Offenſive and Defenſive, with the States-General, for oppoſing the Progreſs of the *French* Conqueſts. This, by the ill Advice of his Miniſters, his Majeſty look'd upon as an Invaſion of his PREROGATIVE; made them an *angry Anſwer*, and ſo adjourn'd the Parliament.

The King of *France* obſerving every Motion, both of his Friends and Enemies, and more par-

* May 23. O. S.

ticularly the Temper of the *Engliſh* Parliament; had ſo much regard to the Jealouſies they had conceiv'd, of his deſigning an entire Conqueſt of the reſt of *Flanders*, that after having gain'd three conſiderable Frontier Towns in the Spring, and diſpos'd his Army into Quarters of Refreſhment, he went to *Dunkirk*; from whence he ſent the Duke of *Crequi* to his *Britannick* Majeſty with a Compliment, and a Letter, containing in ſubſtance, *That to ſhew he had no Intention to* CONQUER Flanders, *but only to make a General Peace, he was contented, notwithſtanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at preſent, to make a general Truce, for ſome Years, in caſe his Ally, the King of* Sweden, *would agree to it; which he deſir'd his Majeſty to inform himſelf of, ſince he had no Convenience of doing it for want of Liberty of Couriers into* Sweden.

There were various Conſtructions made of this Letter, and it was generally look'd upon as a *Politick Fetch* of the *French* King, to put his *Britannick* Majeſty upon waving the Declaration which his Parliament preſs'd him to. At *Nimeguen* the *French* Ambaſſadors made a great ſhew of it among the ſeveral Miniſters there, till they found it had an Effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too groſs an Artifice. Monſieur *Beverning*, the *Dutch* Plenipotentiary, tho of all others the moſt forward for a Peace, yet reſented it to that degree, that he ſaid openly, *That the* French *were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of* Importance, *nor ſo much as of* Amuſement. *That* France *had given their Blow, and now would hinder their Allies from giving theirs. That the Reſerve of* Sweden's *Conſent was an eaſy way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies ſhould accept it. That this it ſelf could not be done, becauſe* Flanders *would be left ſo open, as to be eaſily ſwallow'd up by the next Invaſion, having no Frontier on either ſide. That the Towns*

Towns now poſſeſs'd by France, *would, in the time of a Truce, grow abſolutely* French, *and ſo the harder to be reſtor'd by a Peace or a War. That for his part, he deſir'd the Peace, contrary to the Politicks of Monſieur* Van Beuningen, *and the other Miniſters of the Allies in* England; *affirming always, that notwithſtanding all their Intrigues and Intelligences there, he (Monſieur* Beverning) *was aſſur'd, That his* Britannick *Majeſty would not enter into the War to ſave the laſt Town in* Flanders. In purſuance of this Confidence, he follow'd all the ways imaginable towards a Peace, and by ſuch Steps as ſome thought forwarder than his Commiſſion, and very ill concerted with thoſe of the Allies; ſo that about *July* all Points were adjuſted between the *French* and *Hollanders:* And Monſieur *Beverning* began to act the part of ſomething more than a *Mediator*, preſſing on his Allies towards a Peace with great Earneſtneſs, not to ſay Roughneſs; tho but with very ſmall effect: for there was little more done of any moment towards it the reſt of this Summer, ſave the Meſſages that paſs'd to and fro, about the Buſineſs of the Duke of *Lorrain*.

About the end of *May*, the Pope's Nuncio arriv'd at *Nimeguen*; whereupon the *Swediſh* and *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors went to the *Engliſh Mediators*, deſiring to know, how they intended to carry themſelves in relation to that Miniſter; and profeſſing, they were reſolv'd to obſerve and follow the Steps that ſhould be made by their Excellencies. The *Mediators* cut the Buſineſs very ſhort, and declar'd to them their Reſolutions, to have no ſort of Commerce with the *Pope's Nuncio*; either in the Affairs of their Function, or in Matters of Ceremony: Adding, their Orders from Court were ſo poſitive in this Point, that they would admit of no Debate. The next day, Monſieur *Colbert* and Count *D'Avaux* came formally to notify to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſa-

dors, the *Nuncio*'s Arrival, and his deſire to make them his firſt Compliments, if he might know they would be receiv'd. The *Mediators* Anſwer was the ſame they had made to the *Swedes* and *Danes*; and ſoon after, all the Miniſters of *Proteſtant* Princes at *Nimeguen*, reſolv'd to follow the Example of the *Engliſh*.

In the mean time, the Confederates made great Inſtances in *England*, that his Majeſty would recal his Troops that were in the *French* Service; attributing moſt of their Succeſſes in *Germany*, to the Bravery of thoſe *Engliſh* Regiments. But his Majeſty excus'd it, upon the Equality of a *Mediator*, ſince there were likewiſe *Engliſh* Troops in the Service of the Allies: who took this Anſwer, however, for an ill ſign of the Protection they hop'd from his Majeſty, for the Support of their languiſhing Affairs. The Expectation of thoſe great Actions promis'd by the Imperialiſts this Campaign upon the *Rhine*, began to wear out; their Troops finding no Subſiſtence in thoſe Countries, which had been wholly ruin'd by the *French* in the beginning of the Year, to prevent their march. The Pr. of *Orange* reflecting on all theſe Circumſtances, and foreſeeing no Reſource for the Intereſts of the Confederates, unleſs from the King of *England*; and that he was like to ſpend the reſt of the Summer in *Flanders*, in Marches and Countermarches, the *French* reſolving not to hazard another Battel, and he not able to ſit down before a Town, and oppoſe a *French* Army that ſhould come to relieve it: His Highneſs, I ſay, ſent Monſieur *Bentink* (the late Earl of *Portland*) over into *England*, about the beginning of *June*, to deſire his *Britannick* Majeſty's leave that he might make a Journey thither ſo ſoon as the Campaign ended; both to purſue his intended *Marriage*, and to concert Meaſures with his Majeſty, to bring *France* to reaſonable Terms. The King return'd him

him a civil Anſwer, but with wiſhes, that he would firſt think of making the Peace, and rather defer his Journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of *June*, Sir *William Temple*'s Son * came over to him at *Nimeguen*, with Letters from the Lord Treaſurer, ſignifying his Majeſty's Pleaſure, 'That he ſhould come over and enter 'upon the Secretary of State's Office, which 'Mr. *Coventry* had offer'd his Majeſty to lay down, 'upon the Payment of ten Thouſand Pounds. That 'the King would pay half the Mony, and Sir *William* muſt lay down the reſt at preſent; tho his 'Lordſhip did not doubt the King would find the 'way of eaſing him, in time, of that too.' Sir *William* writ immediately to the Lord Treaſurer, to make his Acknowledgment to the King; but excuſing himſelf, at the ſame time, that he was not in a Condition to lay down ſuch a Sum, his Father being ſtill alive, and keeping the Eſtate of the Family; and deſiring that the King's Intention might, at leaſt, be reſpited till his Majeſty ſaw how the preſent Treaty was like to determine. In anſwer to his Letters, one of the King's Meſſengers arriv'd Expreſs on the 2*d* of *July* at *Nimeguen*, with his Majeſty's Commands to Sir *William*, to repair immediately over in a Yatch, which his Majeſty had ſent on purpoſe for him. In obedience to this Command, Sir *William* left *Nimeguen*, but without any Ceremony, pretending only a ſudden Journey to *England*, about private Affairs. At his Arrival, the King ask'd him ſeveral Queſtions about the Congreſs; making merry with his Miniſters there, for ſpending him ſo much Mony, to ſo little purpoſe; and about Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, asking Sir *William*, *How he had bred him? How he paſs'd among the Ambaſſadors there?* and other

* Ubi ſupra, *p.* 272. & ſeq.

Plea-

Pleaſantries upon that Subject. After this kind of Diſcourſe, the King told him, 'He knew upon what 'account he had ſent for him over: that 'twas 'what he had long intended; and he was not to 'thank him, becauſe he did not know any body 'elſe to bring into that place.' Sir *William* told his Majeſty, *That was too great a Compliment for him, but was a very ſorry one to his Country, and which he thought it did not deſerve. That he believ'd there were a great many in it fit for that, or any other Place his Majeſty had to give; and he could name two in a Breath, that he would undertake ſhould make better Secretaries of State than himſelf.* To this the King ſaid, with his uſual pleaſant Humour, and familiar way; *Go, get you gone to* Sheen, *we ſhall have no good of you till you have been there; and when you have veſted your ſelf, come up again.*

Sir *William* ſtaid two days at *Sheen*, in which time ſome of Mr. Secretary *Coventry*'s Friends had prevail'd with him not to part with his Place, if he could help it, unleſs the King would let him recommend the Perſon to ſucceed him; who ſhould pay all the Mony he expected, and which the King had charg'd himſelf with. The King told Sir *William*, in his Cloſet, what had paſs'd between his Majeſty and Mr. *Coventry* the Day before, upon this Occaſion; adding, *He was reſolv'd to take him at his Word, and ſo he had told him, and left him to digeſt it as he could.* Upon this Sir *William* repreſented to the King, 'How old and true a Servant Mr. *Coventry* had 'been of his Father's and his; how well he had 'ſerved his Majeſty in this Place; how well he was 'able to do it ſtill, by the great Credit he had in 'the Houſe of Commons; how ill ſuch a Treat'ment would agree with his Majeſty's Nature and 'Cuſtoms: And, for his own part, that it would 'be a great Favour to him to reſpite this Change, 'till his Majeſty ſaw what was like to become of

'the

'the Treaty, or the War; and therefore he begg'd 'of his Majesty, that he would not force *a good 'Secretary out*, and, perhaps, *an ill one in*, against 'both their Wills; but let Mr. *Coventry* keep it, 'at least, till he seem'd more willing to part with 'him.' *Well then*, said the King, *I will let it alone for the present, but don't doubt, in a little time, one or other of us will change our mind.*

When, at other times, Sir *William* came to Court, the King fell often into Conversation with him, and often in his Closet alone, or with none other present besides the Duke of *York* or the Lord Treasurer. The Subjects of these Conversations were usually the *Peace*, and the Prince of *Orange*'s Journey into *England*. The King always express'd a great Desire for the first, but not at all for the other, till that was concluded. He said, *His Parliament would never be quiet, nor easy to him, while the War lasted Abroad. That they had got it into their Heads to draw him into it, whether he would or no. That they pretended publick Ends, and Dangers from* France; *and there might be both means, by a great many honest Men amongst them: but the Heats had been rais'd by some factious Leaders, who thought more of themselves than of any thing else; and had a mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unless they might leave their Terms in removing and filling up Places. And he was very loth to be so much at their Mercy. That besides, he saw, the longer it continu'd, the worse it would be for the Confederates; and therefore he would fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they would not do it for themselves. That if he and the Prince could fall into the Terms of it, he was sure it might be done.* And after several Conversations upon this Subject, the King told Sir *William*, *He had a great mind that he should try if he could persuade him to it.* The Duke and my Lord Treasurer both press'd Sir *William* upon the same Point; but

he

he repreſented to them, 'How often he had been 'employ'd upon this Errand to the Prince; how 'unmovable he had found him, and how ſure he 'was to find him ſo ſtill, unleſs the King would 'conſider of another Scheme for the *Peace*. That 'his Majeſty would do well to try another Hand; 'and he would the better know the Prince's Mind, 'if his Anſwers were the ſame to both.' *The King ſaid, it was an Affair of Confidence between him and the Prince, and muſt be ſo treated; and he knew no Body he had beſides to ſend.* Sir *William* told the King, *if he pleas'd, he would name one.* His Majeſty bid him, and he nam'd Mr. *Hyde*; whoſe Choice was approv'd by the Duke of *York*, the Lord Treaſurer, and the King himſelf. Mr. *Hyde* was diſpatch'd away accordingly, and attended the Prince at the Camp; but found his Highneſs firm and reſolute in the Buſineſs of the Peace, upon the Terms he had propos'd to Sir *William Temple*: Of which he gave an account, both to the King and Sir *William*; and then went to reſide at *Nimeguen*, as one of the Ambaſſadors Mediators. This was no ſmall Comfort to Sir *Lionel*, who was in *perpetual Agonies* after he was left alone in that Station.

The Campaign being ended, the Prince of *Orange* return'd to the *Hague*, accompany'd by the Lord *Offory*, Don *Carlos*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality; and about the middle of *October*, at the preſſing Inſtances of his Friends, rather than upon the *faint Invitation* of K. *Charles* II. embark'd for *England*, with a noble Retinue, and magnificent Equipage. His Highneſs, like an eager Lover, went Poſt from *Harwich* * to *Newmarket*, where the Court then was, at a Seaſon and Place of Country-Sports. The Lord *Arlington* receiv'd the

* Where he landed, October 19. N.S.

Prince

Prince *, at his alighting, making his Pretence of the chief Confidence with him. The Lord Treasurer and Sir *William Temple*, went together to attend him; and he whisper'd to them both together, saying to Sir *William*, *That he must desire him to answer for him and the Lord Treasurer one to another; so as they might, from that time, enter both into Business and Conversation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance.* This was a wise strain of Policy, considering the Lord *Danby*'s Interest in the Court at that time, and prov'd of great use to the Prince, in the Course of his Affairs then in *England*: And tho it much displeas'd the Lord *Arlington* and his Friends, yet it could not be wondred at by such as knew what had past between the Prince and him. His Highness was very kindly receiv'd by the King and the Duke of *York*, who both invited him often into Discourses of Business, which they were surpriz'd to see him decline so industriously, so as the King order'd Sir *William Temple* to find out the reason of it. His Highness told Sir *William*, he was resolv'd to see the young Princess, before he enter'd upon any Conferences about the Peace or War. The King laugh'd at this nice Piece of Gallantry; but, however, to humour his Highness in it, he left *Newmarket* some Days sooner than he had intended.

The Prince, upon his Arrival at *London*, and sight of the Lady *Mary*, was so charm'd with her Person, and all those signs of such a Humour as had been describ'd to him upon his former Enquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke of *York*. His Royal Highness was extreme cold upon the Proposal, which was very well receiv'd and assented to by his Majesty; but with this Condition, That the Terms of a Peace abroad might

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 292. & seq.

be firſt agreed between them. The Prince excus'd himſelf, and ſaid, *He muſt end his firſt Buſineſs, before he began the other.* The King and Duke were both poſitive in their Opinion, and the Prince reſolute in his; and ſaid at laſt, *That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the* Peace, *as things then ſtood, would be apt to believe that he had made this* Match *at their Expence; and for his part, he would never ſell his* Honour *for a* Wife. Nevertheleſs, the King remain'd ſo firm for three or four Days, that the whole Buſineſs was like to break upon this Punctilio. About that time, Sir *William Temple* went to the Prince after Supper, and found him in very ill Humour. His Highneſs told him, *He repented he ever came into* England, *and was reſolv'd to ſtay but two Days longer, if the King continu'd in his Mind, for treating upon the* Peace *before he was married; but that before he went, he muſt chuſe how they ſhould live hereafter; for he was ſure it muſt be either like the greateſt Friends, or the greateſt Enemies: and deſir'd Sir* William *to let his Majeſty know ſo next Morning, and give him an Account of what he ſhould ſay upon it.* Accordingly, Sir *William Temple* told the King all the Prince had ſaid to him the Night before, and repreſented to his Majeſty the ill Conſequence of a *Breach* between them, conſidering the ill Humour of ſo many of his Subjects upon his *late Meaſures* with *France*, and the *Invitations* made his Highneſs by ſeveral of them, during the late War. The King heard Sir *William* with great Attention, and then ſaid, *Well, I never yet was deceiv'd in judging of a Man's Honeſty by his Looks; and if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's Face, he is the honeſteſt Man in the World, and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo; and that 'tis a thing I am reſolv'd on.* Sir *William Temple* did ſo; and tho the Duke, at firſt, ſeem'd a little ſur-

priz'd,

priz'd, yet he ſaid, *The King ſhould be obey'd, and he would be glad all his Subjects would learn of him, to obey him.* From the Duke of *York*, Sir *William Temple* went to the Prince of *Orange*; who was ſo tranſported with this unexpected News, that embracing him, he told him, *He had made him the happieſt Man in the World.* Immediately after, Sir *William* gave an Account of what had paſs'd to the Lord Treaſurer; who took upon him to adjuſt all the reſt between the King, the Duke, and the Prince: And indeed he conquer'd, ſo effectually, the Duke's Unwillingneſs, by an Enlargement of his Revenue, ſettled upon the Poſt-Office, that the Match was declar'd that Evening at the Committee, (before any other in Court knew any thing of it) and next Day * in Council; and receiv'd there, and every where elſe in the Kingdom, with *univerſal Joy.* The *French* Ambaſſador, and the Lord *Arlington*, appear'd the only two Perſons unſatisfy'd upon it at Court; the firſt not knowing how to anſwer it to his Maſter, that an Affair of that Importance ſhould be tranſacted without his Advice, or, indeed, ſo much as his Knowledg, in a Court where nothing before had been done ſo, for many Years: and the Lord *Arlington*, that it ſhould paſs without his Communication, who firſt endeavour'd to keep up the Court in the Belief of his Confidence with the Prince.

The Prince of *Orange* immediately diſpatch'd away an Expreſs to the *States*, to acquaint them with what had paſs'd, expecting their Approbation of the Match with all ſpeed; that he might the ſooner repair to them, for the Service of their Country. Thereupon the States-General aſſembled, and having maturely weigh'd the Advantages which might accrue to their State by this Marriage; as for Inſtance, a Confirmation of the

* November 1. N. S.

UNION between *England* and *Holland*, the Eſtabliſhment and Illuſtration of the Houſe of *Orange*, and the Concluſion of the Peace ſo earneſtly deſir'd; over and above, the happy Choice his Highneſs had made of a Princeſs, every way accompliſh'd; expreſs'd their Approbation by a *publick Edict*, in Terms full of Joy and Satisfaction: declaring moreover, the mighty Eſteem they had for ſo glorious an Alliance, and their ſincere and firm Reſolution, to cultivate the antient Friendſhip and good Correſpondence, which was between his *Britannick* Majeſty and them.

This Anſwer arriving at *London* on his Highneſs's Birth-Day, the Marriage was celebrated at Eleven at Night; but with ſo little Noiſe, that the People knew nothing of it till the next Morning, when they gave all publick Demonſtrations of their Joy: and immediately after, the King, Duke, and Prince, fell into the Debates about the Terms of the Peace; to which, as to that of the Match, none but the Lord Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple* were admitted. *The Prince inſiſted hard upon the Strength and Inlargement of a* FRONTIER, or in the modern Phraſe, *a* BARRIER, *on both ſides of* Flanders; *without which*, France, he ſaid, WOULD END THIS WAR WITH THE PROSPECT OF BEGINNING ANOTHER *with more Advantage and Surprize*, AFTER THE BREAKING THE PRESENT CONFEDERACY. *That their Ambition would never end till they had all* Flanders *and* Germany, *to the* Rhine, *and thereby* Holland *in an abſolute Dependence upon them; which would leave them in an ill Condition, and* England *in no good one: And that* Chriſtendom *could not be ſafe without ſuch a Frontier as he propos'd in* Flanders; *and the Reſtitution of* Lorrain, *as well as what the Emperor had loſt in* Alſace. The King was content to leave that Buſineſs a little looſe, upon the Confidence (and Pretence

Pretence made uſe of late, on the ſame occaſion) that *France* was SO WEARY OF THIS WAR, *that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign. That the King of* France *grew paſt his Youth, and Lazy, and would turn to the Pleaſures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in quiet.* Upon this, Sir *William Temple*, with great Wiſdom, told the King, *That in the Courſe of his Experience in the World, he had never obſerv'd Men's Natures to alter by Age or Fortune; but that a good Boy made a good Man; a* young Coxcomb *an* old Fool, *and a* young Fripon *an* old Knave. *And that quiet Spirits were ſo, young as well as old; and unquiet ones would be ſo, old as well as young. That he believ'd the King of* France *would always have ſome Bent or other, ſometimes War, ſometimes Love, ſometimes Building: but that he was of the Prince's Opinion, that* HE WOULD NEVER MAKE PEACE BUT WITH A DESIGN OF A NEW WAR, *after he had fix'd his Conqueſt by the laſt:* In which Opinion his Majeſty ſeem'd to concur. The Points of *Lorrain* and *Alſace* were readily agreed to by the King and the Duke of *York*; but they would not hear of the County of *Burgundy*, as what *France* would never part with, tho the Prince inſiſted much upon it: ſo as the King thought his Highneſs was touch'd by the Intereſt of his own Territories there; and thereupon told him, *That for his Lands, he would charge himſelf with either his enjoying them as ſafely under* France *as* Spain; *or if he was rather willing to part with them, than have that Dependence, he would undertake to get him what Price he ſhould himſelf value them at.* But he anſwer'd generouſly, *That he ſhould not trouble himſelf, nor the Peace, about that matter; and that he would be content to loſe all his Lands, to get one good Town more for the* Spaniards *upon the Frontier of* Flanders. So that the Difficulties ſeem'd to center in what was thought neceſ-

ſary on that ſide. This occaſion'd great Debates between the King and the Prince; one pretending *France* would never agree to one Scheme, and the other, that *Spain* would never conſent to the other. Upon the whole matter, it was reſolv'd that the Peace ſhould be made upon theſe Terms: All to be reſtor'd by *France* to the *Empire and Emperor*, that had been taken in the War; the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to that Duke; and all on both ſides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Guillain*, and *Binch*; that the Prince ſhould endeavour to procure the Conſent of *Spain*, and his *Britannick* Majeſty that of *France*. To this purpoſe, his Majeſty was to ſend a Perſon immediately over with the Propoſition; who ſhould be inſtructed to enter into no other Reaſonings upon it, but demand a poſitive Anſwer in two Days, and then forthwith return. The Queſtion was, who ſhould go? And the Lord Treaſurer ſaying, *It muſt be either himſelf or Sir* William; for none elſe had been acquainted with the Debate of this Buſineſs: The Prince ſaid, It muſt be Sir *William*, for the Lord Treaſurer could not be ſpar'd. To which his Majeſty readily agreed, and order'd Sir *William* to be ready in two Days. The Evening before he was to go, his Majeſty told him, He had reflected on his Journey and his Errand, and how unwelcome * he ſhould be in *France*, as well as his Meſſage; and therefore he had been thinking of ſending another Perſon. Sir *William* told the

* *Sir* William Temple, *in a Letter to his Father*, (Vol. III. p. 347.) *has theſe words:* 'I never undertook any Journey 'more unwillingly, knowing in what Opinion I ſtand already at that Court: How deeply they reſent the Prince's 'Match, without their Communication; and with how little Reaſon I can hope to be the welcomer for this Errand.'

King,

King, *He never had leſs Mind to any Journey in his Life; and that he would do him the greateſt Pleaſure in the World to ſend another.* Thereupon the King ask'd him, what he thought of the Lord * *Duras?* Sir *William* ſaid, *Very well:* upon which his Majeſty ſeem'd to reſolve it, tho the thing had been already agreed in the Morning, upon the Duke of *York*'s Deſire; who either thought *France* would accept the Terms, and ſo his Royal Highneſs had a mind to have the Honour of the Peace, by ſending a Servant of his own; or, as ſome ſuſpected, deſign'd to favour the *French* Intereſt. This laſt Opinion ſeem'd to be confirm'd by the Succeſs of the Lord *Duras*'s Embaſſy; who, after the Delivery of his Meſſage, was prevail'd with to ſtay longer than his time: and, after all, came away without any poſitive Anſwer; whereby the Buſineſs came to be drawn out into ſo many Meſſages and Returns from *France*, that it *dwindled into nothing.*

On the 21*ſt* of *November*, the Prince and Princeſs embark'd for *Holland*, where Affairs preſs'd his Return, beyond the hopes of my Lord *Duras* from *France*. The King aſſur'd his Highneſs, he would never part from the leaſt Point of the *Scheme* ſent over, and would enter into the War againſt *France*, if they refus'd it. But nevertheleſs his Highneſs went away with the Mortification, to ſee the PARLIAMENT PROROGU'D to the next Spring, which the *French* Ambaſſador had gain'd of the King, TO KEEP UP THE CREDIT OF FRANCE after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Diſpatch of the Project of Peace to that Court. However, the ILL HUMOUR OF THE PEOPLE growing higher, upon the † NOISE OF A PEACE NEGOTIATED IN FRANCE; this was, by a Pro-

* *The late Earl of* Feverſham.

† *Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 303.

clamation,

clamation, *anticipated*, ſoon after the Lord *Duras*'s return; tho a thing ſomething unuſual, and a ſhew made, as if the King deſign'd to enter into the War: for which the Parliament ſeem'd impatient, whenever the King ſeem'd averſe to it; but grew jealous (and not without juſt ground) of ſome TRICKS and PREVARICATIONS, whenever the Court ſeem'd inclin'd to it.

About the end of *December* 1677, the King ſent for Sir *William Temple* to the foreign Committee; and told him, He could get no *poſitive Anſwer* from *France*, and therefore reſolv'd to ſend him into *Holland*, to make a League there with the States, for forcing both *France* and *Spain*, if either refus'd to make the Peace upon the Terms his Majeſty had propos'd. Sir *William* told the King, *What he had agreed, was to enter into the War with all the Confederates, in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from* France. *That this, perhaps, would ſatisfy both the Prince and Confederates Abroad, and the People at Home. But to make ſuch a League with* Holland *only, would ſatisfy none of them, and diſoblige both* France *and* Spain. *Beſides, it would not have ſo great an Effect or Force as the* TRIPLE-ALLIANCE *had; being a great Original, of which this ſeem'd but an ill Copy:* And therefore Sir *William* excus'd himſelf from going. The King was ſet upon it, tho Sir *William* pretended Domeſtick Affairs of great Importance, upon the Death of his Father; and pleaded ſo hard, that the Duke, at laſt, deſir'd the King not to preſs Sir *William* upon a thing he was ſo averſe from, and would be ſo inconvenient to him; and deſir'd only Sir *William* might propoſe who ſhould be ſent with the Treaty. Sir *William* made his acknowledgment to the Duke, and propos'd, that Mr. *Thin* ſhould be ſent from the Office, with a Draught of the Treaty, to Mr. *Hyde*, who was then come from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, upon a Viſit to the Princeſs.

There

There were TWO RULING BURGOMASTERS at AMSTERDAM at this time, who had the whole Sway of that Town, HOOFT and VALKENIER: the firſt (a great Intimate of Sir *William Temple*) a generous honeſt Man, of great Patrimonial Riches, Learning, Wit, and Humour, without Ambition; the other a moroſe and formal Man, but of great Induſtry, much Thought and AVARICE; and making the Turns eaſy that were neceſſary in the Government, to carry his Ends. Theſe two had long been Enemies, and thought irreconcilable, till the FRENCH EMISSARIES, at this time, with great *Art and Induſtry*, made up the Quarrel, and JOINED THEM BOTH IN THE DESIGN OF MAKING THE PEACE, upon the Terms offer'd by *France*. A Precedent which was afterwards follow'd in the ſame Town.

The News of the Prince's Marriage having reach'd *Nimeguen*, gave the Confederates great Hopes that the King of *England* would now declare in their favour. But it had quite another effect in *Holland*, particularly in *Amſterdam*, where the *French* EMISSARIES found means to raiſe Jealouſies of the Meaſures concerted between the King and Prince upon this new Alliance, as dangerous to the Liberty of their Country; and to make it believ'd, that by this Match the King and the Duke had wholly brought over the Prince to their Intereſt and Sentiments: whereas, indeed, the Prince went away poſſeſs'd, of having drawn them into his; tho *they were equally miſtaken*. But how different ſoever their Apprehenſions abroad might be of things, King *Charles* waiv'd his Engagements to the Prince, of entring into the War with all the Allies, in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from the King of *France*, upon the Terms of the Peace; and contented himſelf to ſend Mr. *Thinn* over into *Holland*, with the before-mention'd Draught of an Alliance

to be made with the States, in order to force *France* and *Spain* into the Compliance of the Scheme agreed on; and to consign the same into the Hands of Mr. *Hyde*, then at the *Hague*. Accordingly the Treaty was sign'd on the 16*th* of *January*, tho not without great Difficulties, and much Dissatisfaction on the part of the Prince of *Orange*, who was yet cover'd in it by the private Consent of the *Spanish* Minister there, in behalf of his Master; so that the War could not break out but upon *France*, in case of their refusal. This Alliance being thus concluded, the King of *England* dispatch'd Mr. (the late Duke of) *Montague*, into *France*, to press that Monarch to accept his Terms; and, at the same time, gave out Commissions for raising an Army: But nevertheless, the *French* King rejected these Conditions of Peace, and made great Preparations to open the Campaign earlier than ordinary. Thereupon his *Britannick* Majesty recall'd the Troops he had in the Service of *France*: And having summon'd his Parliament, communicated * to them the late Alliance he had made with *Holland*, for the publick Benefit and Repose of Christendom; and ask'd them Mony upon it, for putting himself in a Posture to carry on the War, if the Peace fail'd. The House of Commons, in an Address for that purpose, 'return'd his Majesty thanks for the great Care he 'took of the Protestant Religion, in *marrying his* 'Niece to a Protestant Prince; beseeching him, not 'to consent to any Conditions of Peace with *France*, 'whereby the *French* King should be left in Possession of any greater Power or Dominion, than was 'left him by the *Pyrenean* Treaty.' Tho the King look'd on the latter part of this Address, as an Invasion of his Prerogative; yet he took no notice of it: and thereupon the Commons, after a long

* January 28. 167$\frac{7}{8}$. O. S.

Debate,

Debate, reſolv'd to fit out a great Fleet, and to raiſe an Army of thirty Thouſand Men; and appointed Commiſſioners to compute the Charge. The Conſtitution of this Parliament, that had laſted ſeventeen Years, was grown into two *known Factions*, that of *Court* and *Country*. The *Court-Party* were grown numerous, by a PRACTICE INTRODUC'D BY MY LORD CLIFFORD, OF DOWNRIGHT BUYING OFF ONE MAN AFTER ANOTHER, as they could make the Bargain. The *Country-Party* was ſomething greater yet in number, and kept IN MORE CREDIT UPON THE CORRUPTION OF OTHERS, and THEIR OWN STEDDINESS TO THE TRUE INTERESTS OF THE NATION, *eſpecially in the Points of* FRANCE *and* POPERY. Where *theſe came in queſtion*, many of the *Court-Party* voted with thoſe of the *Country*, who then carry'd all before them; and (which amounts to the ſame thing) whenever the Court ſeem'd to fall in with the *true Intereſts of the Nation*, eſpecially in thoſe two Points, then many of the *Country-Party*, *meaning fairly*, fell in with the *Court*, and carry'd the Votes: as they did upon the King's Pretence, to grow bold with *France*, and to reſolve upon the War, if the Peace were refus'd.

In the mean time, as an ill-grounded Suſpicion in *Holland*, of the Prince's Conduct and ambitious Deſigns, ſince his Marriage, made them uneaſy among themſelves, and daily more and more inclin'd them to a Peace; ſo, on the other hand, the News they receiv'd at this time, of the *French* taking from them the Iſland of *Tobago*, beſides the Death of *Binks*, Admiral of *Zealand*, and the utter Ruin of that Colony, did no leſs ſenſibly affect them. But what was a more formidable Blow than all the reſt, was the vaſt Progreſs of the *French* Army this Spring in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. For towards the end of *February*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty

P 2 marching

In ye points of France & Popery ye country party were more steady to ye true interests of ye Nation

marching at the head of his Forces, and carrying the Queen and the Ladies to *Metz*, ſeem'd to have a Deſign either on *Luxemburgh*, *Namur*, or *Mons*: but having drawn the *Spaniards* that way, all on a ſudden, and to the no leſs ſurprize of the *French* themſelves, than of the Allies, he croſs'd the Countries, ſat down before *Ghent*, and notwithſtanding the Difficulties occaſion'd by the Seaſon, and the Deluge of drowning part of the Country, made himſelf Maſter both of that Town, and ſoon after of *Ypres*; and thereby gave a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and ſtrengthen'd the Credit and Endeavours of thoſe he had already diſpos'd to his Conditions of a Peace, as grown now abſolutely neceſſary, while *England* amus'd the People with a ſeeming Reſolution to enter into the War, or at leaſt furniſh'd the Confederates with many ſuch Hopes. After the taking of theſe two Places, the King of *France* diſpos'd his Armies into Quarters of Refreſhment; whether he thought them ſufficiently haraſs'd, or whether he was afraid of the *Engliſh*, who, at the Deſire of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, had ſent over conſiderable Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, to ſecure the important Town of *Oſtend*, which the *French* ſeem'd to threaten. Not long after, the World was aſtoniſh'd to hear, that the *French* King had entirely abandon'd *Meſſina* and all *Sicily*. Some aſcrib'd it to mere Neceſſity, and others to a Deſign of purſuing the Conqueſt of *Flanders* with redoubled Vigour and Application. However it was, the Parliament of *England* were of this laſt Opinion; and therefore to ſtop his Career, they petition'd the King to declare open War againſt him, and granted his Majeſty a Poll-Bill; prohibiting, by the ſame Act, the Importation of all *French* Commodities. King *Charles*, who was now deſirous to enter into a League with the *Empire*, *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, would oblige them

them to make the ſame Prohibition, in relation to *French* Goods: But while the *Hollanders* were demurring upon the laſt Point, believing that ſuch a Prohibition would ruin their Trade, an unexpected Accident fell out, that chang'd the whole Scene of Affairs.

About the beginning of *April*, the King of *France* ſeeing his *Britannick* Majeſty ſo warmly preſs'd by his Parliament, to enter into the War, made * a publick Declaration of the Terms, upon which he was reſolv'd to make a Peace: which tho very different from thoſe agreed between his Majeſty and *Holland*, and more from the Pretenſions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been firſt privately agreed with ſome Leaders of the principal Towns, prov'd indeed the PLAN of the Peace, both for *Holland*, and all the other Confederates. And here the *French* began that *Imperious way of Treating*, which they afterwards purſu'd in the whole Negotiation of the enſuing Peace; peremptorily declaring, ſuch and ſuch were the Conditions they would admit, and no other; and to which *France pretended to be tied no longer* than to the Tenth of *May*. However, they thought fit to *ſecure* England *by Bribes*.

Sir *William Temple* happen'd, at this Juncture, to be with the Lord Treaſurer one Evening, when he receiv'd a Packet from Mr. *Montague*, Ambaſſador at *Paris*; giving him an account of a large Converſation Monſieur *de Louvois* had lately with him, by the *French* King's Orders: Wherein he repreſented, *The Meaſures they had already taken for a Peace in* Holland, upon the French *Terms*. *That ſince they were agreed there, they hop'd his Majeſty would not be againſt it. That, however, his Maſter had order'd him to make his Majeſty the Offer of a great Sum of Mony*

* April 9.

for

for his Conſent, tho to a thing already accepted by Holland, *and wherein his Majeſty was conſequently not concern'd. That Monſieur* Louvois *deſir'd the Ambaſſador to write this immediately to the Lord Treaſurer, and to offer him a very conſiderable Sum for himſelf, that ſhould be ſent over in Mony, Jewels, or Bills, as he ſhould chuſe.* And Mr. *Montague* added, *That it was deſir'd this Affair ſhould be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State.* The Treaſurer having read the Letter to Sir *William*, *Well, my Lord*, ſaid the latter, *what do you ſay to the Offer?* To which his Lordſhip anſwer'd, *That he thought 'twas the ſame thing, as if it ſhould be propos'd to the King, to have* Windſor *put into the* French *Hands; and ſo he ſhould treat it: and that we had nothing to do, but to go on with our Treaty with the Confederates.* This his Lordſhip and Sir *William Temple* were charg'd with, and had brought near a Concluſion; when Letters came from Mr. *Hyde*, with Repreſentations made him from the Penſionary, of the violent Diſpoſitions in *Holland* towards a *Peace*; and the abſolute Neceſſity he thought there was, of concluding it, upon the taking of *Ghent*, and Danger of *Antwerp*, which was then threatned.

About this time, the *French* Ambaſſador in *London, began to change his Language:* for whereas he ever before pretended, *That his Majeſty ſhould be always the Arbiter of the* PEACE, being now aſſur'd that his Maſter had agreed with *Holland*, he ſeem'd to *wonder and expoſtulate, Why the King ſhould pretend to obtain better Terms for the* Spaniards, *than their Allies, the* Dutch, *were content with.* Hereupon Sir *William Temple* was again preſs'd by the King and Lord Treaſurer, to go into *Holland*, to know their final Reſolutions, whether they would yet carry on the War, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould go into it? But Sir *William* ſtill excus'd himſelf, knowing the

the *Dutch* were too much preſs'd, by ſo near Approaches of *France*, to declare themſelves upon a Reſerve of the King's; and ſaid, *If his Majeſty reſolv'd to go that way, he muſt firſt take his Meaſures with his* Parliament *for the War, and then ſend them word in* Holland, *he was ready to declare it, in caſe they would* purſue it: *And upon this Meaſure, Sir* William ſaid, *he knew the* Dutch *ſo well, as to believe they would do it, and keep cloſe to their late Alliance with his Majeſty.* This the King was unwilling to do; but however, for Form ſake, diſpatch'd Mr. *Godolphin* again into *Holland*, about the middle of *April*, and prorogu'd the Parliament for fourteen Days.

On the 20*th* of *April*, the Lord Treaſurer went to Sir *William*, and aſſur'd him of the King's Reſolution being at length fix'd to go into the War; and deſir'd him to prepare what his Majeſty ſhould ſay to the Parliament upon this occaſion. Sir *William* did ſo: But when he carry'd it to my Lord Treaſurer, he met there Letters from Mr. *Hyde* and Mr. *Godolphin*, that *Holland* abſolutely deſir'd the Peace upon the Terms propos'd by *France*; and had reſolv'd to ſend Monſieur *Van Lewen* over to *England*, to diſpoſe the King to be contented with them. He arriv'd, and the King ſent Sir *William Temple* immediately to know his Errand. He was the chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had join'd with *Amſterdam*, *Harlem*, and ſome others, in promoting the Peace. But being a Man of great Honour and Worth, and having done it upon the too-well-grounded-ſuſpicion, that *England* was ſtill, *at Bottom, in with* France, and that *all the reſt was but Grimace*; the Prince of *Orange* had procur'd him to be ſent over, on purpoſe to ſatisfy himſelf, (and thereby his *Complices* for the *Peace*) that the *King's Intentions* were determin'd *to enter into the War*, which his Highneſs rightly judg'd to be *the only*

means

means to prevent the Peace. When Sir *William* came to Monſieur *Van Lewen*, the latter told him freely, 'That it *was the moſt againſt their Hearts in* Holland *that could be, to* make a PEACE *upon Terms ſo* low *and* unſafe *for* Flanders: and that if the King had gone into the War, as was promis'd, upon *France* delaying, or refuſing to accept his Scheme, they would certainly have continu'd it; but his Majeſty's Proceedings look'd, ever ſince, ſo uncertain and unreſolv'd, that it had rais'd Jealouſies in *Holland*, of the *Engliſh Meaſures* being, at bottom, *fix'd and cloſe with* France: which made moſt of the Towns in *Holland* think, they had nothing elſe to do, but to go *in* with them too, as faſt as they could; and the approach of the *French* Army to *Antwerp*, left them now no time to deliberate: Yet he profeſs'd to Sir *William*, in private, that if the King would immediately declare the War, he believ'd the States would ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their Alliance.' Sir *William* made his Report to the King, who ſeem'd poſitive to declare the War, in caſe the Parliament adviſ'd him, and promis'd to ſupport it; when an unlucky Vote, mov'd by Sir *T*—— *C*——, in ſpite to my Lord Treaſurer, paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, *That no Money ſhould be given, till Satisfaction was receiv'd in Matters of Religion.* This left all ſo looſe and lame, that the King was in a *Rage*; reproach'd Sir *William Temple* with *Popular Notions*; and ask'd him, *When, or how he thought he could truſt the Houſe of Commons to carry him thro the War, if he ſhould engage in it?* Sir *William* had not much to ſay, conſidering the Temper and *Suſpicions* of the Houſe; nor could he well clear it to himſelf, *Whether the King was firmly reſolv'd to enter into the War?* 'Tis certain, this Vote created ſuch a fatal and mutual Diſtruſt, both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any

ſound

ſound Meaſures between them. The King, at leaſt, now ſaw he had loſt his time of entring into the War, if he had a mind to it; and that he ought to have done it, upon my Lord *Duras*'s return, with the whole Confederacy. In relation to this, the Earl of *Eſſex* told Sir *William Temple*, *He had been a Prophet, in refuſing to go to* Holland *to make that Alliance; which had, as Sir* William *ſaid, pleas'd none at Home or Abroad, and had now loſt our Meaſures in* Holland, *and turn'd them upon* France.

But the *witty Turn* King *Charles* gave all this, was, That *ſince the* Dutch *would have a Peace upon the* French *Terms, and* France *offer'd Mony for his Conſent, to what he could not help; he did not know, why he ſhould not get the Mony?* And thereupon order'd Sir *William Temple* to treat upon it with the *French* Ambaſſador, who had Orders for that purpoſe. Sir *William* would have excus'd himſelf, but the King ſaid, *He could not help ſeeing the Ambaſſador, for he would be with him at his Houſe, by Seven next Morning.* He came accordingly; and Sir *William* told him very truly, *He had been ill in the Night, and could not enter into any Buſineſs.* The Ambaſſador was much diſappointed, and preſs'd Sir *William* all he could; but he declin'd it upon his Illneſs: ſo that at length the Ambaſſador left him, without entring upon any thing. When Sir *William* got up, he went immediately to *Sheen*, and, by his Wife, ſent the following Letter * to my Lord Treaſurer:

MY LORD,

FINDING my ſelf ſomething recover'd of my Illneſs, which hinder'd me from waiting upon your Lordſhip before I left the Town, I could not but let you know how very ſenſible I was of what you laſt told

* *Dated*, Sheen, May 1678. *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 351.

me with ſo much Kindneſs, about his Majeſty *and* Royal Highneſs *having been ſo* much diſpleas'd with ſome of my late Diſcourſes to his Majeſty; *tho your Lordſhip could not tell me more of them, than that they were ſome* Popular Notions: *As likewiſe the great Diſſatisfaction his Majeſty would receive at the Difficulties I made, to enter into an Affair which belong'd not at all to my Poſt, and wherein his Majeſty had not done me the Honour, to acquaint me with the Deliberation or Digeſtion of it. I muſt confeſs, the Senſe of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure (which I never deſerv'd) has been ſo great a Mortification to me; that to ſhew how much I have ever been concern'd in his Majeſty's* Service and Satisfaction, *and how little in* any Advantages of my own, *I have reſolv'd moſt humbly to lay at his Majeſty's Feet, not only my two preſent Embaſſies, but alſo the Promiſe of the Secretary's Place; which his Majeſty was pleas'd, long ſince, to make me ſo graciouſly, and of his Motion. Therefore whenever his Majeſty pleaſes to order me a Letter of Revocation to the States-General (which I ſhall ſend over to my Secretary at the* Hague) *and give me leave to ſend for both my Families away from the* Hague *and* Nimeguen: *I ſhall, upon it, come and beg the Honour of kiſſing his Majeſty's Hand, and make him my humble Acknowledgments for the undeſerved Honours he has done me, by ſo many and ſo great Employments Abroad, as well as by deſigning me ſo much a greater at Home. I ſhall, at the ſame time, aſſure his Majeſty of my Reſolutions, to paſs the reſt of my Life in the conſtant and hearty Wiſhes, and Prayers, for the Honour and Safety of his Majeſty, and his Kingdoms; and, that how mean a Servant ſoever I have been, he ſhall find me as good a Subject as any Man alive,* &c.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, my Lord Treaſurer ſent Sir *William* word, *The King forc'd no Man upon what he had no mind to; but if Sir* William

reſolv'd

reſolv'd this ſhould be ſaid to him, he muſt do it himſelf, or by ſome other; for he would not make his Court ſo ill, as to ſay it for Sir William. And ſo that matter reſted; and Sir *William* continu'd at *Sheen*, without ſtirring till the King ſent for him.

In the mean time, from the beginning of *May* the ill Humour of the Houſe of Commons began to break out by ſeveral Diſcourſes and Votes againſt the Miniſters; which encreas'd the ill Opinion his Majeſty had conceiv'd of their Intentions, in preſſing him to enter upon a War. Yet notwithſtanding all this, he had conceiv'd ſuch an Indignation at one *Article* of the *private Treaty* propos'd by Monſieur *Barillon*, that he ſaid, He would never forget it while he liv'd. Sir *William*, who tells us * he had this from *a good Hand*, leaves us, however, in the Dark as to that *ſecret Article*: But the Publiſher of his *Letters*, Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, acquaints † us with that remarkable Paſſage, *viz.* 'That *France*, 'in order to break the *Force of the Confederacy*, 'and *elude* all juſt *Conditions* of a *General Peace*, 'reſolv'd, by any means, to enter into Separate 'Meaſures with *Holland*; to which end it was ab'ſolutely neceſſary to engage the good Offices of 'the King of *England*, who was look'd upon as the '*Maſter of the Peace*, whenever he pleas'd. The '*Bargain was ſtruck* for either three or four Hu'dred Thouſand Pounds: But when all was agreed, 'Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, told 'the King, That he had Orders from his Maſter, 'before Payment, to add a private Article; by 'which his *Majeſty ſhould be engag'd, never to keep* 'above eight Thouſand Men of ſtanding Troops in his 'three Kingdoms. This unexpected Propoſal put 'the King in a Rage, and made him ſay, *Cod's-Fiſh!*

* *See his Memoirs*, Part II. p. 321.
† *Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 335.

does my Brother of France *think to ſerve me thus? Are all his Promiſes to make me abſolute Maſter of my* ——— *come to this? Or does he think That a thing to be done with eight Thouſand Men?* Tho the King ſaid nothing to Sir *William Temple* of his Reſentment, yet he obſerv'd his Majeſty to be, at this time, more reſolv'd to enter into the War, than he had ever before ſeen, or thought him.

The Marquiſs *de Ruvigny*'s Son *, who was diſpatch'd into *France*, to know the laſt Intentions of that Court, upon the Terms of the Peace propos'd by his Majeſty, being return'd without any clear or poſitive Anſwer; the King went on to compleat his Levies, and to prepare for the War. But on the 11*th* of *May*, the Commons paſs'd another Negative, upon the Debate of Mony; which ſo offended the King, that he prorogu'd them for ten Days. Monſieur *Van Lewen* diſtaſted with theſe Delays, and the Counterpaces between King and Parliament, began to talk freely of the Neceſſity his Maſters found to make the Peace as they could, ſince there was no relying upon any Meaſures with *England* for carrying on the War; and the Seaſon was too far advanc'd to admit of any longer Delays. Upon theſe Diſcourſes from him, the King began again to cool his Talk of a War, and to ſay, *The Peace muſt be left to the Courſe which* Holland *had given it.* And tho on *May* 23. the Parliament met, and ſeem'd in much better Temper than they parted, yet News coming about the ſame time, that Monſieur *Beverning* was ſent by the States to the *French* Court at *Ghent*, to propoſe a Ceſſation of Arms for ſix Weeks, in order to negotiate the Terms of the Peace; both Court and Parliament began to look upon it as a Thing concluded, or at leaſt, as like to receive no other Motion than what ſhould be given it by *Holland* and *France*.

* *Afterwards Earl of* Galway.

Thus

Thus *England* was grown pretty indifferent in the Buſineſs of the Peace; and the *Spaniards* ſeem'd to comply with the Neceſſity of their Affairs. But the *Emperor*, King of *Denmark*, and Elector of *Brandenburgh*, fell into the ſevereſt *Expoſtulations* and *Reproaches* againſt the States that could be well invented; ripping up all they ventur'd and ſuffer'd in a War, wherein they had engag'd for the ſole Preſervation of the *United Provinces*: but that now they were *abandon'd* by them, under a Pretence of concluding a Peace, and that upon *Imperious and* ARBITRARY TERMS, *without their Conſent*. That they were not backward to treat with *France*, and make a Peace upon any ſafe and reaſonable CONDITIONS, but would never ſuffer to have them DICTATED, as from an ABSOLUTE CONQUEROR; and *would rather venture their laſt Stake*, than tamely ſubmit to them: particularly, to thoſe for the Duke of *Lorrain*, whoſe Caſe was the worſt treated, tho ſeemingly the moſt favour'd by the Allies, and the leaſt diſputed by *France*. The States were little mov'd at theſe *verbal Storms*, but held on their Courſe, without regarding the Satisfaction of any other than *Spain*, in what concern'd the BARRIER and SAFETY of *Flanders*; and the Straits of that Crown made them eaſy, tho otherwiſe as little pleas'd as any of their Allies. Wherefore, on the 22*d* of *June*, the States gave order to their Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, to ſign the Peace with *France* before the end of that Month; and, at the ſame time, acquainted the King of *France* with their Compliance. But notwithſtanding this tendency, both in *Spain* and *Holland*, to give the Treaty the finiſhing ſtroke, an unexpected Accident fell out, which went near to overturn the whole Fabrick, and renew the War with greater Vigour, and more equal Forces, by engaging *England* in a ſhare of it, in favour of the Allies, which

which they had long been endeavouring, without any Succeſs.

In the Conditions the States had made for the *French* reſtoring the ſix *Spaniſh* Towns in *Flanders*, there was no particular mention made of the time of that Reſtitution; the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* preſuming, that it was to be upon the Ratification of the Treaty with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any other of the Confederates were included or no: And the Negotiation had been manag'd in that manner, till the very Day before the Peace was to be ſign'd; when the Marquiſs *de los Balbaſes* having either found, or ſtarted ſome Occaſion of enquiring more particularly into the Intentions of *France*, bethought himſelf of an Explanation, as to the time of the *Reſtitution* of the ſaid Places. In order to that, he firſt went to the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, to ſound their Opinions upon that Subject; who made anſwer, That if the *French* pretended to put off the Reſtitution beyond the Exchange of the Ratifications, it was a thing not meant by them. And thereupon going immediately to the *French* Ambaſſadors, to give them their Explanations, which they would ſend to the States-General by an Expreſs, the *French* did not ſtick to declare, *That the King their Maſter being oblig'd to ſee an entire Reſtitution made to the* Swedes, *of all they had loſt in the War, his Majeſty would not evacuate the Towns in* Flanders *till thoſe belonging to the* Swedes *were likewiſe reſtor'd; and that the keeping theſe* Spaniſh *Towns was the only means to induce the* Northern *Princes to accept the Peace.* The *Dutch* Miniſters having receiv'd the States Anſwer thereupon, did, upon the 25*th* of *June*, declare to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, 'That they could not ſign the Peace, unleſs 'his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty wav'd his Pretenſions, 'and reſtor'd the *Spaniſh* Towns upon the Ratifica-'tion of the Treaty.' On the other hand, the *French*

The King of England was for making Peace with y Dutch, but then y King

French Ambaſſadors were firm, and ſtiffly inſiſted on the Satisfaction of the *Swedes*. Upon this ſtrange Procedure of *France*, the States-General order'd Monſieur *Van Lewen* to acquaint his *Britannick* Majeſty with it, and to know his Opinion upon a Point of ſo great Importance. The King made Difficulty at firſt to believe it; but ſending to the *French* Ambaſſador at *London* to know the Truth of it, and finding him own his Maſter's Intention, not to let go his Hold in *Flanders*, till the General Peace was concluded, and *Sweden* ſatisfy'd, he was both ſurpriz'd and angry; and next Morning ſent for Sir *William Temple* to the foreign Committee, and there declar'd his Reſolution, of ſending him immediately into *Holland*, with Commiſſion to ſign a Treaty with the States; by which they ſhould be oblig'd to carry on the War, and his Majeſty to enter into it, in caſe *France* ſhould not agree to evacuate the Towns within a certain time limited. Upon this occaſion, his Royal Highneſs, the Duke of *York*, fell into this Counſel with great Warmth, and ſaid at the Committee, *That it was plain by this Proceeding, that* France *was not ſincere in the Buſineſs of the Peace; that they aim'd at the* UNIVERSAL MONARCHY; *and that none but his Majeſty could hinder them from it, in the Poſture that Chriſtendom ſtood.* His Majeſty took the Pains to preſs Monſieur *Van Lewen* to go over with Sir *William Temple*, to perſuade the States of the Sincereneſs and Conſtancy of his Reſolution, to purſue this Meaſure with the utmoſt of his Power: And took upon himſelf to excuſe to the States his Maſters, the making this Journey without their Conſent. Sir *William Temple* and Monſieur *Van Lewen* being arriv'd at the *Hague*, the Negotiation was immediately ſet on foot, and in the ſpace of ſix Days the famous Treaty of Alliance between *England* and *Holland*

but Montague then in the house of Commons, sent Sir Thos. Darby sent to the Lords, and there he was for

was * happily concluded, to the general Satisfaction of the *Hollanders*; who, at the first Conference, made Sir *William* this Compliment, *That they esteem'd his coming into* Holland, *like that of the Swallows, which brought fair Weather always with them.* And 'tis observable, that Mr. *Godolphin*, who had been so lately in *Holland*, told Sir *William*, before his Departure, *That if he brought the States to the Treaty his Majesty propos'd upon this occasion, he would move the Parliament to have* HIS STATUE SET UP. Among the rest, the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd the *English* Ambassador with the greatest Joy in the World, hoping by his Errand, and the Success of it, either to continue the War, or recover such Conditions of the Peace for the Allies, as had been wrested out of his Hands by Force of a *Faction* begun at *Amsterdam*, and spread since into the rest of the Provinces. And, indeed, it is hardly to be imagin'd, what a new Life this Alliance gave to the Authority and Fortunes of the Prince of *Orange*; who was now acknowledg'd by the States to have made a truer Judgment than they had done, of the Measures they were to expect, both from *France* and *England*; the last having proceeded so resolutely to the Offers of entring into the War, (which was never believ'd in *Holland*) and *France*, after raising so great a Difficulty in the Peace, having pursu'd the War so far as to block up *Mons*, one of the best Frontiers remaining to *Flanders*; which was expected to fall into their hands before the time limited for the Conclusion or Rupture of the Treaty should expire. Hereupon Preparations were made with the greatest Vigour and Diligence, for his Highness's Expedition to relieve that important Place; and about ten Thousand *English*, already arriv'd in *Flanders*, were order'd to march that way,

* July 26. N. S.

and Sir William Temple, to and the Secretary's office, for Brand of Flanders, where the King at this

and join his Army. The Prince went into the Field with a firm Confidence that the War would certainly go on, and Hopes to engage the *French* Army before the Term for signing the Peace should expire; and so resolv'd to relieve *Mons*, or die in the Attempt.

After the Treaty concluded between *England* and *Holland* had been signify'd to *France*, all the Arts imaginable were practis'd, on that side, to elude it, by drawing the matter into a *Negotiation*, or at least, *a greater length*, which *had succeeded so well in England*; and to treat upon it first at *St. Quintin*, then at *Ghent*; where the *French* King himself propos'd to meet such Ambassadors as the *Dutch* should send to either of those Towns: But the States were stanch, not to recede from their last Treaty; and continu'd in that Resolution, till about five days before the Expiration of the time limited; when there came one *Du Cros*, a *Swedish* Agent in *England*, with Orders from his *Britannick* Majesty, for Sir *William Temple* immediately to repair to *Nimeguen*, and there to endeavour to persuade the *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries, to let the *French* there know, *That they would, for the Good of* Christendom, *consent, and even desire the King of* France *no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns; and assure the said* Swedish *Ambassadors, that after this Peace the King of* England *would use all the most effectual Endeavours he could, for the Restitution of all the Towns and Territories that had been taken from the* Swedes *in the War.* Sir *William Temple* was extremely surpriz'd at this Dispatch; but the Pensionary *Fagel* being stunn'd, and, as it were, thunder-struck, went and told his Excellency the whole Contents of it, before Sir *William* had mention'd it to any Man: And 'That 'Du Cros had gone about most industriously, to the 'Deputies of the several Towns, and acquainted 'them with it; and that the Terms of the Peace

into y Secret, but I think when the Prince of Orange came in, he was so wise 366 to drop the matter of State, and

were absolutely agreed between the two Kings: That he brought Sir *William Temple* Orders to go strait to *Nimeguen*; and that his Excellency should, at his Arrival there, meet with Letters from my Lord *Sunderland*, the King's Ambassador at *Paris*, with all the Particulars concluded between their *Britannick* and most Christian Majesties.' How this Dispatch of *Du Cros* was obtain'd, was never certainly known: But upon Sir *William*'s Return to *England*, the Duke of *York* told him, *That he knew nothing of it till it was gone, having been a Hunting that Morning. The Lord Treasurer endeavour'd* to *excuse* himself of it: And the King told him pleasantly, *That the Rogue* Du Cros *had out-witted them all.* The truth is, these *Orders* were the *Result* of *French Intrigues* and Management; since they were agreed and dispatch'd one Morning, in the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*'s Chamber, by the Intervention of Monsieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador. However it was, and what Endeavours soever were made immediately after, at the Court of *England*, to *retrieve* that *False Step*, it never could be done: and this one Incident chang'd the whole face of *Christendom*. When Sir *William Temple* arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, which was but three days before the Expiration of the Term fix'd by the late Treaty between the King of *England* and the States, either for the *French* to evacuate the Towns, or for carrying on the War jointly against *France*; there was but little Disposition that the Peace should be sign'd, but rather the quite contrary appear'd, by the stiffness shew'd on both sides, to adhere firmly to their respective Demands. And the *Dutch* positively maintain'd, that there could be no Deputation made either to *St. Quintin* or *Ghent*, nor any other Expedient for putting a stop to the Operations of War, besides the Assent of *France* to evacuate the Towns.

The

The Peace thereupon ſeem'd deſperate, and the more ſo, becauſe, at the ſame time, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* preſs'd *Mons*, the Mareſchal *Schonberg* threaten'd *Cologne*; and *Bruſſels* almoſt grew uneaſy upon the Neighbourhood of the *French* Armies: ſo that the Allies thought themſelves ſecure of what they had ſo much and ſo long deſir'd, and aim'd at; which was, a War againſt *France*, in conjunction with *England*. In the midſt of theſe Views and Diſpoſitions at *Nimeguen*, came the fatal Day, fix'd by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, which muſt determine whether a ſudden Peace, or a long War, were to be reckon'd upon in *Chriſtendom*; when, in the Morning early, Monſieur *Boreel*, who had been ſent from *Amſterdam* to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, went to the *French* Plenipotentiaries; and after ſome Conference with them, theſe three Miniſters went immediately to thoſe of *Holland*, and declar'd to them, they had receiv'd Orders to conſent to the Evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to ſign the Peace; but that it muſt be done that very Morning. At this, the *Dutch* ſeem'd to be ſurpriz'd; but, however, they immediately enter'd into a Conference with the reſt, which laſted for five Hours, and ended in an Agreement upon all Points, both of Peace and Commerce, between *France* and *Holland*: againſt which the Ambaſſadors of *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Munſter*, gave in a Memorial; alledging, after a long Train of Expoſtulations, *That ſuch a haſty and precipitate Conduct in the* Dutch, *was unworthy of a State that had always govern'd it ſelf with Reaſon and Juſtice; and that ſuch an extraordinary Step would be an* everlaſting Blot *upon the Honour and Reputation of the* States-General. And concluding, *That if, notwithſtanding all, they were reſolv'd to proceed and enter into a Neutrality, ſo contrary to their ſolemn Engagements, they proteſted againſt that* Separate Treaty, *in the beſt*

Form they could; and not only so, but against all the Calamities that Christendom *in general, and the Princes their Masters in particular, might suffer by that Separation.* But notwithstanding the Reasonableness and Solemnity of this Protestation, and the Irresolution of Monsieur *Van Haren*, one of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, who did not seem to be so clear in the Point of their Orders: yet Directions were presently given, to have all fair writ over with the greatest haste imaginable, so that the Treaty might be sign'd that Night, (*Aug.* 11. N. S.) This was done accordingly between Eleven and Twelve, without the Intervention of the *English* Mediators; who refus'd to sign the same, or to have their Names mention'd in it, as *Mediators*; saying, *Their Instructions were only to mediate a General Peace, and not a Particular One.*

The Day after the signing of this Peace, came over the Ratifications of the late Treaty between his *Britannick* Majesty and the States; with Orders for Sir *William Temple* to proceed forthwith to the Exchange of them. Upon which, his Excellency immediately repair'd to the *Hague*, and the next day after his Arrival there, made the Exchange accordingly; tho after the *Counter-pace* made by the Dispatch sent by *Du Cros*, and the Consequences of it, the same appear'd now as *unnecessary* as it had been at first resolv'd at the *English* Court, and unexpected by the *Dutch*; who many of them, now were unsatisfy'd with the Peace, and especially with the *Precipitation* of Monsieur *Beverning*, in signing it: but the thing was done, and after some Debate, the City of *Amsterdam* declaring their Approbation of it, the rest of the Provinces did soon acquiesce.

Thus by the Address and Skill of the *French Politicians*, the *English Negotiation ended in Smoke*, which was near kindling so great a Fire; the Peace was gain'd with *Holland*; his *Britannick* Majesty *was ex-*

the money should be paid, into the Chamber of London,

cluded from any fair Pretence of entring into the War, after a great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, *deluded*; *Spain* was neceſſitated to accept the Terms that *Holland* had negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the *Empire wholly at the Diſcretion of* France. Which made it appear, both at Home and Abroad, that *French Counſels* had the *Aſcendant at the Court of* England.

The Prince of *Orange*, ſoon after his return to the *Hague*, went to *Dieren*, to hunt in the *Veluwe*, like a Perſon that had little elſe to do; and Sir *William Temple* having occaſion, at the ſame time, to go to *Amſterdam*, his Highneſs deſir'd him to remember him kindly to Monſieur *Hoeft*, the chief Burgomaſter there, and tell him, *That he deſir'd him to be no longer in his Intereſt, than he ſhould find his Highneſs in the true Intereſt of the States.* The Ambaſſador having deliver'd his Meſſage accordingly, *Hoeft* very frankly bid him tell the Prince, *He would be juſt what his Highneſs deſir'd, and be ever firm to his Intereſts, while he was in thoſe of his Country; but if ever his Highneſs departed from them, he would be the firſt Man to oppoſe him; till then, he would neither cenſure nor diſtruſt his Conduct: for he knew very well, that without* mutual Truſt *between the Prince and the* States, *his Country muſt be ruin'd.* From henceforward to his Death, Monſieur *Hoeft* continu'd in the ſame Mind, and by his Example, that *great* and *jealous* City of *Amſterdam* began to fall into much more Confidence, not only of the Prince, but of his whole Conduct, in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of their State.

About the end of *Auguſt*, while Men's minds were buſy'd with various Conjectures about the preſent Poſture of Affairs, Mr. *Hyde* was ſuddenly ſent over from *England*, to the ſurprize of all in *Holland*; and more eſpecially of Sir *William Temple*, who had not the leaſt Intimation given him, either

of

of his Journey or Errand. The Design of this ſudden Meſſage, was, *To acquaint the States, how much his* Britannick *Majeſty had been ſurpriz'd, at the News of their Ambaſſadors having ſign'd a particular Treaty with* France, *even without the Incluſion of* Spain, *and without any Guaranty given for the Evacuation of the Towns within the time requiſite; To complain of this Precipitation of the States, and, at the ſame time, of the new Pretenſions which* France *had advanc'd upon the County of* Beaumont, *and the Town of* Bovignes, *which had retarded the Peace of* Spain. *That for theſe Reaſons he underſtood and believ'd, that the late Treaty of* July, *between his Majeſty and the States, ought to take Effect; the Caſe being fallen out, againſt which that was provided, and both Parties being thereby oblig'd to enter jointly into the War againſt* France. *That if the States would hereupon refuſe to ratify the Treaty their Miniſters had ſign'd at* Nimeguen, *his Majeſty offer'd to* declare War *immediately againſt* France, *and carry it on in all Points according to the Articles of the ſaid Treaty with the States.*

Mr. *Hyde*, who, with Sir *William Temple*, went to *Heunſtaerdyke*, to acquaint the Prince with his Meſſage; was no ſooner withdrawn, but his Highneſs lifting up his Hands two or three times, ſaid, *Was ever any thing ſo* hot *and ſo* cold, *as this Court of yours? Will the King, that is ſo often at Sea, never learn a word that I ſhall never forget ſince my laſt Paſſage, when in a great Storm, the Captain was all Night crying out to the Man at the Helm,* Steddy, Steddy, Steddy? *If this Diſpatch had come twenty Days ago, it had chang'd the Affairs of* Chriſtendom, *and the* War might have been carry'd on, till *France* had yielded to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and left the World in quiet for the reſt of our Lives. *As it comes now, it will have no Effect at all; at leaſt, that is my Opinion, tho I would not ſay ſo to Mr.* Hyde. The Event prov'd anſwerable to the Prince's Judgment;

ment; tho for the preſent, all Appearance ſeem'd very different from the former Proceedings of the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, whereof many of the Deputies of the former ſhew'd an Inclination to comply with his Majeſty's Propoſals; and appear'd ſo *ill ſatisfy'd with their Plenipotentiaries having ſign'd the Peace, that they form'd ſeveral Articles againſt Monſieur* Beverning's *Proceedings.* The true Spring of this reſolute Step of *England*, was generally thought to be the Buſineſs of the POPISH PLOT, juſt then *breaking* out; for the King, to avoid the Conſequences the ſame might have upon the ill Humour of the Parliament, which ſeem'd to riſe chiefly from the Peace, reſolv'd to give them the Satisfaction they had ſo long deſir'd, of entring into the War.

After Matters had continu'd for about three Weeks in an uncertain ſtate, whether the *Dutch* would ratify their ſeparate Peace with *France* or no, the *French* King thought the Conjuncture too important to let it hover ſo long; and therefore firſt diſpatch'd a Courier to his Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, with leave to ſatisfy the States, as to thoſe Clauſes in the Treaty, wherein they ſeem'd juſtly to except againſt Monſieur *Van Beverning*'s Conduct: next, he gave them liberty to make ſome Condeſcenſions, as to the Points conteſted with the *Spaniards:* and laſtly, he impower'd his Ambaſſadors to remit all the Differences which obſtructed the Concluſion of the Treaty between him and *Spain*, to the Deciſion and Umpirage of the *States-General.* By the Artifice of this Confidence towards the *Dutch*, on the part of *France*, ſeveral Towns and Provinces proceeded, with a general Concurrence, to their Ratifications; that they might be ready in their Ambaſſadors hands, to be exchang'd when the Treaty of *Spain* was ſign'd; which was done on the 17*th* of *September: But wherein the* Engliſh

Mediators

Mediators had no Part. Thus the great Deſigns of the Court of *England* were eluded; Mr. *Hyde* had the Mortification to return home intirely diſappointed; *France* was left in poſſeſſion of the Peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and by conſequence, *Maſter of that of the Empire* and the *North*, upon his own Terms. And *England* was left to buſy it ſelf about a *Fire* that was *breaking out at Home*, with ſo much Smoke and Noiſe, that it was hard to foreſee the End of it; the late *ill Management* of Affairs, and *Practices* to favour POPERY and FRENCH COUNSELS, having laid in a great Stock of *combuſtible Materials*.

Several Difficulties delay'd the Treaty of the *Emperor*: But the Diligence and Abilities of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, determin'd the Houſe of *Auſtria* to run the Ship aſhore, whatever came on't, rather than keep out at Sea, in ſo cruel a Storm as they ſaw falling upon them; and for which they found themſelves ſo unprovided. The *Spaniſh* Ratifications, which, as was ſuppos'd, had been defer'd by concert, at length arriv'd; and after the Winter far ſpent in *fruitleſs* Conteſts by the Imperial Ambaſſadors, and more *fruitleſs Hopes from England*, by the Allies; Sir *William Temple* receiv'd his Majeſty's Orders to go immediately away from the *Hague* to *Nimeguen*; and there aſſiſt as a *Mediator*, at the ſigning of the *Peace*, which *then appear'd to be General*. Sir *William* never obey'd the King's Commands ſo unwillingly *, both upon account of *an Errand ſo unneceſſary*, and, at beſt ſo merely formal, and upon the Inclemency of the Seaſon; which was never known ſo great in any Man's Memory, as when he ſet out from the *Hague*. He arriv'd at *Nimeguen* towards the end of *January* 167⅘, and found all things concluded, and ready to

* *See his Memoirs*, Part II. p. 378.

ſign;

ſign; which was done accordingly on the *1ſt* of *February*, N. S. The *French* Ambaſſadors offer'd to yield the Precedence in ſigning to the *Engliſh* Miniſters, as *Mediators*, which they had done in the whole Courſe of this Aſſembly; but the *Imperialiſts*, who were enrag'd at the *Part* England *had acted in this Negotiation*, downright refus'd it: and ſo the *Engliſh*, by their prepoſterous Offers to ſign, gain'd only the *Mortification* of having that determin'd againſt them, which till that time, had always remain'd in ſuſpence. The day after the Treaty was ſign'd, Sir *William Temple* left *Nimeguen*, and return'd to the *Hague*, after a cruel Fatigue and Expence: So that upon his going into *England*, he found himſelf above ſeven Thouſand Pounds in Arrear at the Treaſury. Tho, with much Trouble and Delay, he recover'd the beſt part of that Sum, yet 2200*l.* remain'd a deſperate Debt, and a *mark upon him, how unfit he was for a Court.* And Mr. *Godolphin*, after having both ſaid and writ to him, *that he would move to have his Statue ſet up, if he compaſs'd the laſt Treaty with* Holland, ſat ſeveral Years after in the Treaſury, and ſaw Sir *William* want the very Mony he had laid out of his own Purſe in that Service.

Soon after his arrival at the *Hague*, Sir *William* receiv'd the King's Orders to prepare for his return into *England*, to come into the Place of firſt Secretary of State, in Mr. *Coventry*'s room *. And my *Lord Treaſurer* wrote to him to the ſame purpoſe; telling him, among other things, *They were fallen into a cruel Diſeaſe, and had need of ſo able a Phyſician.* Sir *William Temple* thought the Caſe almoſt deſperate, and not to be attempted by a Man, who neither ever had his own Fortunes at heart, nor ever could reſolve upon any Purſuits of

* Ubi ſupra, *p.* 385.

it, to go againſt *either* the true Intereſt, or the *Laws of his Country*; one of which is commonly endanger'd, upon the *fatal Misfortune of ſuch Diviſions* in a Kingdom: And therefore he ſent * his humble Acknowledgments to the King, in his Anſwer to the Lord Treaſurer; but withal, his Excuſes, for not putting his Majeſty upon the *uſe of an old beaten Horſe*, in ſuch *hard Service*, as he took *that Station* then to be; and propos'd his Collegue, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, for that purpoſe: Adding, that having long promis'd the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* that he would make him a Viſit at *Florence*, the firſt time he had leiſure from his publick Employments, he turn'd his Thoughts wholly to get Leave for that Journey, as ſoon as the *Congreſs* at *Nimeguen* ſhould break up. Inſtead of granting this Suit, the King ſent a Yacht for Sir *William* towards the end of *February*, with Letters from the Lord Treaſurer, and from the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had lately ſucceeded Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*; and, in both, a poſitive Command from the King, for his immediate repair into *England*, for his entring upon the other Secretary's Office.

The King writ the ſame thing to the Prince of *Orange*, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, as a thing his Majeſty thought they would be pleas'd with. Sir *William* himſelf acquainted his Highneſs and their High Mightineſſes with his Journey, and the Deſign of it, according to the King's Command; and they made him Compliments upon it. The Prince told him, in particular, *He look'd upon it as a piece of Predeſtination, that he ſhould be a Secretary of State at laſt, in ſpite of all he had done ſo long to avoid it.* But Sir *William* ſaid to the Prince, that *tho he muſt go, yet if he found the Scene to be what it appear'd at that diſtance, he*

* Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 2. &c. &c.

would

would not charge himſelf with that Employment, upon any Terms that could be offer'd. They knew very well in *Holland*, that both Houſes of Parliament believ'd the POPISH PLOT; that the CLERGY, CITY, and COUNTRY in general, did ſo too; or at leaſt, purſu'd it as if they all believ'd it: and, on the other hand, they were ſatisfy'd the KING, and ſome of the Court, believ'd nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that Opinion. Upon which occaſion, the Prince told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, *He had reaſon to be confident, that the King was in his Heart a* ROMAN CATHOLICK, *tho he durſt not profeſs it.* Sir *William* knew not what to believe of one ſide or t'other, but thought it eaſy to preſage from ſuch contrary Winds and Tides, ſuch a *Storm* muſt riſe, as would *tear the Ship in pieces, whatever Hand were at the Helm.*

Upon his arrival in *England*, he met with the moſt ſurprizing Scene * that ever was. The long Parliament, that had ſat eighteen Years, diſſolv'd: That, to make way for a calmer Seaſon, the Reſolution had been taken for the Duke of *York*'s going into *Holland*, and that he was to part the next Day: ſo that Sir *William Temple* had only one occaſion of ſpeaking to him; when his Royal Highneſs told him with great Freedom, the Steps that had been made towards that Reſolution, much againſt his own Opinion, and bid him remember, what he foretold him, That *however this was thought likely to ſtop the violent Humour then rais'd by the* PLOT, *yet he* (Sir William) *ſhould ſee, it would go on next to my Lord* Treaſurer's Ruin, *tho his Lordſhip did not expect it.* When the Duke was gone, and the King had told Sir *William* his Reſolution, to have him Secretary, upon Mr. *Coventry*'s Removal; and, on the other hand, his Friends having acquainted him, they had

* *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 5. & ſeq.

the five Thousand Pounds ready to lay down: He began to consider the Ground, and the Journey, and his own Strength to go through with it. He found nothing so necessary for his Majesty's Affairs Abroad, and those of *Christendom*, as *great Union* at Home; which might enable him to make *such a Figure as the Preservation of* his *Allies requir'd*. On t'other side, he never saw greater Disturbance in Men's Minds at Home, than had been rais'd by the *Plot*, and the pursuit of it in Parliament; and observ'd, it was generally believ'd by both Houses, by City and Country, by Clergy and Laity: so that without the King's uniting with his People, upon the vigorous Prosecution of it, whether it was so or not, he would never grow either into *Ease* at *Home*, or *Consideration* Abroad. Upon three days Thought of this whole Affair, Sir *William* resolv'd to avoid the Secretary's Place, or any other publick Employment at Home, his Character abroad still continuing: and thereupon fell into Consultations, how he might get off this Point, without any thing that might appear *undutiful* or *ungrateful* to the King. The Elections were canvassing for a new Parliament; and Sir *William* order'd his Pretensions so, as they came to fail. In the mean time, he defer'd entring into the Secretary's Place, till he might likewise enter into the House of Commons; which both the King and the Lord Treasurer were satisfy'd with, tho not the Lord *Sunderland*. But when that Parliament was chosen, Sir *William* represented to his Majesty, how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet, without his having one Secretary of the House of Commons; and how useful Mr. *Coventry* would be to him there, not only for his great Abilities, but for having formerly been turn'd out of the Council and Treasury, to make way for my Lord *Clifford*, and for having ever since been opposite to the FRENCH ALLIANCES. This Excuse ob-

tain'd Sir *William* a Reſpite, till he could be choſen of the Houſe of Commons; which was endeavour'd upon each doubtful Election, eſpecially that at *Windſor*; but however, could not be carry'd. The ſhort Parliament met * with the Diſputes between the Coun and the Commons, about the Speaker, begun, indeed, upon a Pique between the Lord Treaſurer and Mr. (afterwards Sir *Edward*) *Seymour*, or rather between the Lord *Danby* and him. However it was, this ſoon ran the Houſe into ſuch Violence againſt the *Lord Treaſurer*, as ended in his *Ruin*; firſt, by the King's ſudden Reſolution to remove him; then by the Commons continuing their Proſecution and Impeachment; and laſt, by his Lordſhip's firſt concealing, and then producing himſelf in the face of this Storm; which ended in the *Tower*.

After the Heats of the Commons, which encreas'd into new Meaſures and Motions among them, as they were ſway'd by popular Humours upon the *Popiſh* Plot; and many new Plots laid by the Ambitions of private Perſons, carry'd on under Covert of the other: The King, who was ſenſible of the miſerable Condition of his Affairs, imparted his Uneaſineſs to Sir *William Temple*, and lamented himſelf, that *he had none left, with whom he could ſo much as ſpeak in Confidence, ſince my Lord Treaſurer's being gone.* Hereupon Sir *William* conſider'd, that the Counſel of the Lord Treaſurer's Removal, had been carry'd on by the Duke of *Monmouth*, in conjunction with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* and the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was then in the greateſt Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth*; and by him and the Earl of *Sunderland*, brought into the Treaſury. He found my Lord *Sunderland*, at leaſt, in compliance with this Knot, and that all were re-

* March 6. 167½.

ſolv'd

ſolv'd to bring the Earl of *Shaftsbury* again into Court, who was in Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Eſſex*, and had a near Relation to the Lord *Sunderland*. He obſerv'd the great Affection the King had to the Duke of *Monmouth*; and plainly ſaw the uſe his Grace intended to make of it, in caſe he could introduce a Miniſtry at his own Devotion: And this being a Matter that might concern the very *Succeſſion* of the Crown, and not only be an Injury to the Duke of *York*, but thro him to his Children, and the Prince of *Orange*, he reſolv'd, firſt, if it were poſſible, to break the Growth of that Miniſtry, tho he ſaw no Men he could fix in it, with any Satisfaction to the King, or Advantage to his Service. On the other hand, Sir *William Temple* obſerv'd the Parliament to grow every day more violent, upon the ſupport they receiv'd by the Humours rais'd by the *Popiſh* Plot, and the Incentives given them by the Ambitions of Perſons playing that Game. He ſaw a probability of Matters growing to ſuch a paſs, that his Majeſty might be forc'd to part with them; and yet he ſaw not Authority left in the Crown, either to do that without the venture of great Miſchiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the preſent Humours might cool. Both theſe Conſiderations gave Sir *William* the Thoughts of the King's eſtabliſhing a new Council, of ſuch a Conſtitution as might either gain Credit enough with the Parliament; by taking ſome Lords and Commoners who had moſt Sway in both Houſes, without being thought either principl'd or intereſted againſt the Government, and thereby give Eaſe and Quiet both to the King and his People: or, if the Humours ſhould grow outrageous and beyond oppoſing, the King might yet, at the Head of ſuch a Council, with more Authority and leſs Hazard, either prorogue or diſſolve them; as any Neceſſities of his

own,

own, or Extravagancies of theirs ſhould require. Theſe he propos'd to mix with others of the King's more general Choice, for making up one half of the Council; whilſt the other half, being Fifteen, were ever to be the preſent chief Officers of his Crown and Houſhold: who being all of his Majeſty's known Truſt, as well as Choice, would be ſure to keep the Council ſteddy to the true Intereſt of his Majeſty and the Crown. Moreover, one chief regard neceſſary to this Conſtitution, was that of the perſonal Riches of this new Council; which in Revenues, of Land or Offices, was found to amount to about three hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year; whereas thoſe of a Houſe of Commons are ſeldom found to have exceeded four Hundred Thouſand Pounds. And as, on the one hand, Authority is obſerv'd much to follow Land, ſo, at the worſt, ſuch a Council might, out of their own Stock, upon a Pinch, furniſh the King ſo far, as to relieve ſome great Neceſſity of the Crown. After this matter had been debated and digeſted about a Month between the King and Sir *William Temple*, and his Majeſty ſeem'd much ſatisfy'd with the thing; Sir *William* deſir'd him not to take a Reſolution of that Importance, without the Advice of three or four Perſons, on whoſe Judgment and Affection to his Service, his Majeſty could moſt rely. Hereupon the King order'd him to communicate the whole Scheme to the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*; but one after another; and with charge from him, of the laſt Secrecy, and if they concurr'd with his Opinion, that he ſhould appoint them to attend his Majeſty next Morning. They all receiv'd the Overture with equal Amazement and Pleaſure; the Lord Chancellor ſaying, *It look'd like a thing from Heaven, fallen into his Majeſty's Breaſt.* The Lord *Eſſex*, *That it would leave the Parliament and Nation in the ſame Diſpoſi-*

Diſpoſitions to the King, which he found at his coming in; and the Lord *Sunderland* approving it as much as any. The next day, when they attended his Majeſty, no difficulty aroſe but two that were Perſonal. Sir *William Temple* had propos'd the Marquiſs of *Halifax* as one of the Lords; to whom the King had, at firſt, ſhewn ſome Averſeneſs, in the private Conſultations with Sir *William Temple*: but upon ſeveral Repreſentations of his Family, his Abilities, his Eſtate and Credit, as well as Talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was ſpited at, Sir *William* thought his Majeſty had been contented with it. But at this Meeting the King rais'd new Difficulties, and appear'd a great while inflexible; till, at laſt, the three Lords joining with Sir *William*, and the latter, ſaying, *They would fall upon their Knees to gain a Point they all thought neceſſary for his Service*, his Majeſty conſented. The other was, concerning the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who had never been nam'd in the firſt Debates: The King, either not having thought of him, or not mentioning him, as knowing what Opinion Sir *William* had of that Lord. But after the Marquiſs of *Halifax* had paſs'd, the King ſaid, 'There was another, 'who, if he were left out, might do as much Miſ-'chief as any;' and nam'd the Lord *Shaftsbury*: To which the other three Lords agreed, and concluded farther, *That he would never be content with a Counſellor's place, among Thirty*; and therefore it was propos'd to add one to the Number, by making a Preſident, which ſhould be he. Sir *William Temple* diſputed this Point, from the firſt mention to the laſt concluſion of it; foretelling, he would deſtroy all the Good that they expected from the whole Conſtitution; and ſpoke with ſo much earneſtneſs, that when by the King's agreeing with the other three, he ſaw it would be concluded, he walk'd away to the other end of the Room, irre-

ſolute,

ſolute, whether he ſhould have gone out or not, if the Door had been open; but turning again, he deſir'd his Majeſty to remember, that *he had no part in Lord* Shaftsbury's *coming into his Council, or his Affairs. That his Majeſty and the other three Lords, had reſolv'd it without him; and that he was abſolutely againſt it.* The King laugh'd, and turn'd Sir *William*'s Paſſion into a Jeſt; and ſo went on with the reſt of the Conſtitution intended, till the whole was reſolv'd, and executed publickly on the 21ſt of *April* 1679.

The Night before the thing was to be done, the King thought fit to tell it the Duke of *Monmouth*; having kept it ſecret till then, further than to the four Perſons before nam'd. But as ſoon as the Duke of *Monmouth* knew, tho in general, that the Council ſhould be chang'd, he told it to ſo many, that it was common Talk next Morning; which was interpreted either Lightneſs or Vanity, to have it thought that he had part in an Affair likely to paſs ſo well. And indeed, when the thing was done, it was receiv'd with general Applauſe in the Country; with Bonfires in the City, and the ſame in *Ireland*. In *Holland*, the Stocks of the *Eaſt-India* Company roſe upon it immediately; and the States deſign'd one of their beſt and moſt conſiderable Men, Monſieur *Van Leuven*, to come over Miniſter into *England* upon this Occaſion. *France* alone was unſatisfy'd with it, and Monſieur *Barillon* ſaid, *It was making States, and not Councils*; but the Reaſons were eaſy to gueſs, and ſo not much regarded. The Houſe of Commons receiv'd it with moſt Coldneſs, where the contrary was moſt expected: and the pretending Knowers amongſt them, who were not of the Council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new Revelations; to doubt it might be a Court-Juggle; to refer it to time, to tell what it was in truth; and, in the mean while, to ſuſpend

their Judgments. This was the firſt Effect of the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s good meaning to the King and his Affairs, into which he was entr'd, but not with the perſonal or tranſcendent Credit he aim'd at with his Majeſty, and which he rightly judg'd thoſe who had been Authors of this new Counſel, had the greateſt ſhare in. This made him fall in more abſolutely with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and uſe all their Endeavours to raiſe ſuch Diſcontents and Heats in the Houſes, upon the Apprehenſions of *Popery*, and Propoſitions to prevent it, that the King found himſelf ſoon upon as uneaſy Terms with this Seſſion of Parliament, as he had been with the laſt; the Humours being engag'd by the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Inſinuations amongſt his Confidents, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had ſo much Credit with the King, that his Majeſty deſir'd but a good Occaſion of conſenting to all the Parliament ſhould inſiſt on, which would be given him by Heat and Obſtinacy in ſo popular a Point as that againſt Popery: And if that were once gain'd, the Duke of *Monmouth* and he ſhould be able to ſteer all the reſt, to the Satisfaction of thoſe who were call'd the *Honeſt* or *Proteſtant* Party.

It was Sir *William Temple*'s Opinion, that ſuch a Miſchief could never have grown, if the Lord *Shaftsbury* had not work'd himſelf up into Credit, both in Parliament and City, by the Appearance of having it with the King, and in the Council, where he was Preſident; and by the Infuſions given, of his having, or growing yet into greater, by a more ſecret Spring; which was, the Intereſt of the Duke of *Monmouth*; and the Kindneſs of his Majeſty increaſing, as viſibly appear'd ſince the Duke of *York*'s Abſence. Therefore Sir *William* could not but believe all this would have been avoided, if upon the new Conſtitution, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been left out, as a Perſon mark'd by the King, and never

never to enter more into his Affairs or Confidence. But this Fate, as Sir *William Temple* could not prevent by all his Endeavours, ſo he had foretold it his Majeſty the Year before: When, upon his coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent Expreſſions that could be againſt him, Sir *William* told his Majeſty, That *with his good Leave, he would hold any Wager, he ſhould ſee that Lord again in his Buſineſs.* And when the King ask'd him, what made him think ſo? Sir *William* ſaid, *Becauſe he knew he was reſtleſs while he was out, and would try every Door to get in; had Wit and Induſtry to find out the ways it was when Many would work, had as much as any body to beſtow, and Skill enough to know where to place it.*

This Turn in the King's Affairs, upon this new Conſtitution, gave Sir *William Temple* ſo great a Vexation, and ſo ill a Proſpect, that having delay'd the Time preſcrib'd for every Man's receiving the Sacrament, according to Law, after his Entrance into publick Employments, till it was very near expir'd; he once reſolv'd, by that Omiſſion, to make himſelf incapable of bearing any for the future; and was not perſuaded to lay aſide that Thought, till after long Debates upon it with his near Relations: But he continu'd barely of the Council, with a Reſolution of not entring upon the Secretary's Office, tho often and earneſtly urg'd to it by the Lord *Sunderland*, with others of his Friends.

Upon the Conſtitution of the new Council, the Earl of *Sunderland* had, by Mr. *Sydney*, deſir'd, that Sir *William Temple* and he might join together in perfect Confidence, and diſtinct from any others in the Courſe of the King's Affairs; which Sir *William* ſaid, 'He was willing to embrace, tho he knew no 'need of it, conſidering how much the general Af-'fairs were devolv'd upon the Council, or the par-'ticular Committees; and how much he thought 'it was fit that they ſhould continue ſo, without

'running into any private Channels.' This Confidence had not gone on above a Fortnight, when the Lord *Sunderland* ask'd Sir *William Temple* if he were willing the Earl of *Essex* should be receiv'd into it? Which he consented to, tho with intimation of the Opinion he had, for some time of late, of Lord *Essex*. So they met for a while once a day, by turns, at each of their Houses, and consulted upon the chief Affairs that were then on the Anvil; and how they might be best prepar'd for the Parliament or the Council. But Matters growing very untoward, by the Practices of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Cover at least; and upon the ill Humour of the House of Commons, about the Business of Religion: and the Marquiss of *Hallifax* appearing unsatisfy'd, by observing where the King's Confidence was, Sir *William Temple* propos'd to the Lords *Sunderland* and *Essex*, to receive him into all their Consultations; which he thought would both enter him into Credit with the King, and give them Three more Base in the Course of his Majesty's Affairs. The Earl of *Essex* receiv'd this Overture with his usual Dryness; the Lord *Sunderland* oppos'd it a good deal, and told Sir *William*, *He should not find the Lord* Hallifax *the Person he took him for, but one that would draw with no body, and still climbing up to the Top himself.* However, Sir *William Temple* continu'd resolute in pressing, and so, at length, the thing was concluded; and they fell all Four together into the usual Meetings and Consultations.

The chief Matters that lay before the King at this time, were, first, the Satisfaction of his People, by falling into some Measures with the *Parliament*, that might enable him to look Abroad in such a Figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was necessary for preventing the common Fears, of

a

a new Invaſion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*; which look'd very deſperate, without ſome ſtrong and reſolute Protection from *England*. The ſecond was, a a Reſolution to be taken in Anſwer to the Inſtances made by Monſieur *Van Lewen* from the States-General, about a NEW GUARANTY to be given upon the late general Peace by his Majeſty; particularly, to *Spain*, in the buſineſs of *Flanders*. And the third, was, the giving ſome Eaſe to *Scotland*, where the Humours began to ſwell about this time; and which the *Quadrumvirate* thought could be no way done ſo eaſily, as by the removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, a Man too much hated both in *England* and *Scotland*, to be fit for the Temper his Majeſty ſeem'd reſolv'd to uſe in his Affairs. For this laſt, they could not, upon any Terms, obtain it of the King, by all the Arguments us'd, both jointly and ſeverally, by all Four; the King perſiſting in his Opinion, That *none of them knew* Scotland *ſo well as himſelf*. For the ſecond, they eaſily agreed upon the Meaſures that ſeem'd neceſſary for the Satisfaction of the States-General, and the Safety of *Flanders*; being all four of the Committee for foreign Affairs; and taking the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Shaftsbury* into the firſt Digeſtion of this Treaty with *Holland*, at a Meeting for that purpoſe at the Lord *Halifax*'s Houſe: which was the only time Sir *William Temple* ever had any Diſcourſe with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, further than the Council-Chamber. For the firſt thing, which was the moſt important, they found it more perplex'd than they could imagine. Both Houſes of Parliament ſeem'd to have no Eyes, but for the Dangers of Popery upon the Duke of *York*'s Succeſſion to the Crown; which juſt Apprehenſions were artfully improv'd by the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury*. The King ſeem'd willing to give them all poſſible Security againſt thoſe Fears, without changing the Laws

in Point of Succession: and, on the other ſide, the Houſe of Commons were buſy in finding out Expedients to ſecure this Point, but could agree on none; being ſtill diverted from fixing on any, by the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Practices. The Council fell upon the ſame Scent, with great earneſtneſs; and after much Debate, agreed upon many Heads to be laid before the Parliament. One of theſe Expedients, which were to be offer'd to the Houſe of Commons by ſome of their own Members, and only to be hinted at in general Terms, by the King, in his Speech to both Houſes, was, to have a Bill brought in for the Association of all his *Majeſty's* Proteſtant Subjects. Another was, a Bill for the Baniſhment of all conſiderable Papiſts out of *England*. A third for ſecuring frequent Parliaments; and it was likewiſe propos'd, That the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be join'd in the Adminiſtration with the Duke of *York*, upon the latter's coming to the Crown. Theſe Expedients were agreed to by all the Council, except the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and Sir *William Temple*, who were againſt them upon very different grounds. Sir *William*'s were two: Firſt, Becauſe he believ'd that nothing that came firſt from the King, upon theſe Points, would be accepted by the Commons; who, if they would be ſatisfy'd at all, Sir *William* thought ſhould firſt agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuſe. The ſecond was, That as he did not ſee any certain Eaſe theſe Expedients would give the King, tho agreed to by the Houſes, ſo it was evident to all Men, that they would leave the Crown, after him, in Shackles; which put on, upon occaſion of the Duke of *York*, would not be eaſily knock'd off by any Succeſſor. The Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Ground was plain, and ſo expreſs'd by him upon all Occaſions; which was, that there could be no Security againſt the Duke of *York*, if once in poſſeſſion of the Crown:

And

And this being well infos'd by his and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends, into the House of Commons, occasion'd their rejecting all the Expedients offer'd them from the King.

During all these Transactions, the Marquiss of *Hallifax*, Lord *Essex*, Lord *Sunderland*, and Sir *William Temple*, continu'd their constant Consultations; and with so much Union and disinterested Endeavours for the general Good of the King's Service and the Nation, that Sir *William* could not but say to them, at the end of one of their Meetings, That *they were either the five honestest Men in England, or the five greatest Knaves; for they made one another, he trust, believe, that they were the honestest Men in the World.* But this Conjunction held not long: for after the Houses rejecting the Expedients offer'd by the King and Council, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* finding himself neither in Confidence with the King, nor Credit in the Council, turn'd all his Practices and Hopes to the House of Commons; and inflam'd them to that degree, as made the Lords *Hallifax*, *Essex*, and *Sunderland*, begin to grow uneasy, and to cast about which way they might lay the Storm. At length, my Lord *Sunderland* told Sir *William Temple*, that the other two Lords were of Opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury*, into the first Digestion of Affairs, considering the Influence they had upon the House; and for this end, to agree with them in the Banishment of the Duke of *York*, either for a certain Term, or during the King's Life; and desir'd to know, whether Sir *William Temple* would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King? Sir *William Temple* answer'd my Lord *Sunderland* positively, He would not. For, First, he would never have any thing to do with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Shaftsbury*. And next, he

'he would never enter into Matters of Difference 'between the King and his Brother; having, upon 'several Occasions, told them both, that he would 'ever do all he could towards the Union of the 'whole Royal Family, but never would have any 'thing to do in the Divisions of it; *and no Man 'should ever reproach him with breaking his Word*, and 'much less the King and the Duke of *York*.' Upon this peremptory Answer, the three Lords fell into Meetings and Consultations with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury*, which Sir *William Temple* knew nothing of; but tho they broke off the first Confidence with the latter, yet their Kindness one to another still continued.

But their Union lasted not long neither: for, in a few Weeks, the three Lords finding that the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury* were like to prevail upon the House of Commons, in their Endeavours to bring the King into Necessities of yielding all Points to them, whereby they two would be left absolutely at the head of Affairs; began to make their Complaints of it to Sir *William Temple*, and to fall upon the Thoughts of Proroguing the Parliament, as the only Remedy left in the present Distemper. Sir *William Temple* agreed with them in this Overture, and the rather, because he foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords from all Commerce with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Shaftsbury*: and so they agreed to propose it to the King, and appointed to meet again two Days after, for the fixing it with his Majesty at Council. Sir *William* staid his two Days in the Country; and upon his Arrival, he was told by the Earl of *Essex*, that the King had found out, there were Remonstrances ready prepar'd in the House of Commons, to inflame the City and Nation; and that the three Lords having thereupon consulted with his Majesty, he had resolv'd to prorogue

Poor Sir Wm Temple was drawn in by Sunderland, Halifax, & Essex, for ye King, to move this Question

rogue the Parliament that Morning; and that it could not be allow'd Time or Vent, by a Debate in Council: which Sir *William* thought an ill Omiſſion, and *that it ought to have the Authority of the King, with Advice of his Council*, according to the uſual Forms. But it paſs'd otherwiſe, and with very great Reſentment of both Houſes; and ſuch Rage of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, that he ſaid upon it aloud in the Houſe, that he would have the Heads of thoſe who were the Adviſers of this *Prorogation*.

During this Seſſion of Parliament, Sir *William Temple* had ſeveral Notices given him, of a Practice ſet on foot in the Houſe of Commons, for impeaching him, as one that had been an INSTRUMENT in making THE GENERAL PEACE. This was urg'd by Stories of his being a Man of ARBITRARY PRINCIPLES, and one that had *written* ſeveral things, tho without Name, againſt the *Conſtitution of Parliaments*, and in favour of POPERY; and this went ſo far, that Mr. (afterwards Duke of) *Montague*, went from Man to Man in the Houſe, to know whether if ſuch an *Accuſation* were brought in, they would be againſt Sir *William*? Several went into it, upon *Hatred* to the late Lord *Treaſurer*, whoſe Friend they took him to be, and upon *Envy* at his being deſign'd for *Secretary of State*; but yet in no ſuch Numbers, that Mr. *Montague* could hope to make any thing of it. When ſome of Sir *William Temple*'s Friends acquainted him with it, he only deſir'd them to obtain leave of the Houſe, that he might hear his Accuſation at their Bar; and aſſur'd them, he ſhould be glad to have that occaſion of telling there both Mr. *Montague*'s Story and his own. This fell: But upon the knowledg of theſe Practices, the Earl of *Sunderland* and Mr. *Sidney* (afterwards Earl of *Rumney*) who thought that a Man who had ſuch ſhare in

the King's Affairs, ought to ſtand as well as he could with the Houſe of Commons, preſs'd him to ſuffer ſeveral ſmall Tracts he had formely written, and of which Copies had been handed about, to be then printed, as they were, under the Title of *Miſcellanea*. They thought, by that publication, Men would ſee Sir *William* was not a Man of the dangerous Principles pretended; and he might aſſure the World, of being the Author of no Books that had not his Name. The thing ſeem'd, indeed, to paſs well enough; only the Lord *Halifax* commending them to Sir *William* in general, told him as a Friend, that *he ſhould take heed of carrying too far, that Principle* of *Paternal Dominion*, (deduc'd in the *Eſſay of Government*) *for fear of Deſtroying the Rights of the People*: So tender was every body of thoſe Points, at that time!

The three Lords and Sir *William* went on unanimous in their Conſultations, conſidering how to make way for a calmer Seſſion of Parliament: To which purpoſe they again endeavour'd the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or, at leaſt, the Admiſſion of other Nobles of *Scotland* into thoſe Affairs; concluded the Meaſures with *Holland* in all Points, to the ſatisfaction of their Ambaſſadors; and thought of ſuch Acts of Council as might expreſs his Majeſty's Care for ſuppreſſing *Popery*, even in the Intervals of Parliament. They only diſagreed in one Point, which was, the leaving ſome Prieſts to the Law, upon the Accuſation of being Prieſts only, as the *Houſe of Commons* had deſired; which Sir *William Temple* thought wholly unjuſt, without giving them publick warning by Proclamation, to be gone, or expect the Penalties of the Law within ſuch a Time, ſince the Connivance had laſted now through three Kings Reigns. Upon this Point the Lord *Halifax* and Sir *William* had ſo ſharp a Debate, that his Lordſhip told him, *If he would not concur in Points ſo neceſſary for the People's ſatisfaction, he would tell*

every

every body Sir William *was a Papiſt.* And upon his affirming, *That the Plot muſt be handled as if it were true, whether it were ſo or no, ſince it was generally believ'd*; Sir *William* reply'd with ſome warmth, 'That the *Plot* was a matter long on foot before he 'came over; and not having obſerv'd all the Mo-'tions of it, to underſtand it, he would have no-'thing to do with it: But in other things he was 'content to join with them, where they thought 'he could be of uſe to the King's Service; and 'where they thought there was none, he was very 'willing to be excus'd, and very glad to leave his 'Majeſty's Affairs in ſo good hands as theirs.' Notwithſtanding this Difference, the three Lords continu'd their Conferences with Sir *William* with mutual Confidence; and two of them, the Lords *Sunderland* and *Hallifax*, preſs'd him extremely to come into the Secretary's place: my Lord *Hallifax* offering to bring it to a Point with his Uncle *Coventry*.

Since the laſt Prorogation, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been buſy in preparing Fewel for next Seſſion, not without appearance of ill Humour at Council, which often broke into ſpiteful Repartees between him and the Lord *Hallifax*: and on t'other ſide, the Duke of *Monmouth* had broken all Meaſures with the Lord *Eſſex*. The *Rebellion* in *Scotland* breaking out in this Conjuncture, the King was for ſuppreſſing it immediately, by Forces from *England* to be joined by thoſe in *Scotland*, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Lord *Shaftsbury* was unwilling this Riſing ſhould be wholly, or too ſoon ſuppreſs'd, or otherwiſe than by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might be thereby introduc'd into the Direction of Affairs there; yet, on the other ſide, he was willing to ſee the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by ſuch a Command; and agreed with his Grace, to put the King upon another Project, to the ſame end; which was (upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s carrying

to many of the *English* Forces into *Scotland*) to raiſe a Troop of two Hundred Gentlemen for the Guard and Safety of the King's Perſon, whereof the Duke of *Monmouth* to be Captain; and which was to be compos'd chiefly of broken Officers, whoſe Merits were beſt known to his Grace. On the other hand, the Lord *Eſſex*, tho he agreed with the King's Opinion, to have the Inſurrection immediately ſuppreſs'd; yet he had a mind it ſhould be done by the *Scotch*, to prevent the Duke of *Monmouth*'s growing greater by that Command: and tho he would not oppoſe his Majeſty in his Reſolution of ſending his Grace upon this Expedition, yet he did effectually break the other deſign of raiſing the Troop of 200 Gentlemen, by ſtarting invincible Difficulties at the Treaſury, where he was at the head. The Duke of *Monmouth* went into *Scotland*; ſuppreſs'd abſolutely the Rebellion; return'd in Triumph; was receiv'd with great Applauſes from all, and with great appearance of Kindneſs and Favour by the King.

The term of the Prorogation of the Parliament being near expiring, the three Lords and Sir *William* conſulted together, whether conſidering the Diſtempers of the preſent Parliament, the beſt Courſe were not to diſſolve it, and have another call'd in *October*? Which being unanimouſly carry'd in the Affirmative; and the King being of the ſame mind, it was reſolv'd that the King ſhould propoſe the ſame Queſtion at next Council, and that in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor and the other chief Officers ſhould be acquainted with the King's mind, by his Majeſty, or the three Lords. By their computation, the three Lords and Sir *William* concluded, there could not be above ſix in the whole Council that could be againſt it; which they thought would be a great Support to the King's Reſolution, againſt all the Exclamations they expected from the Lord *Shafteſbury* and his Friends. But when the Council-Day came,

came, the King and the three Lords having neglected to prepare the Lord Chancellor and other chief Officers, Sir *William Temple* obſerv'd a great ſurprize at the Board; which made him ſuſpect his Majeſty had ſpoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor, before he came in. It ſoon appear'd he had not ſo much as done that neither: for after a long Pauſe, he was the firſt that roſe up, and ſpoke long and violently againſt the *Diſſolution*; and was follow'd by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *Angleſey*, *Arlington*, Marquiſs of *Worceſter*, and every Man there, except the three Lords, who ſpoke for the *Diſſolution*; but neither with half the Length or Force of Argument they intended to have done. They left, it ſeems, that part to Sir *William Temple*, who was well enough inſtructed in the Caſe: but being ſpighted at the Negligence of his Friends, who might ſo eaſily have effected what was agreed on; and ſeeing that Reaſons would ſignify nothing, after ſuch Majority was declar'd, he contented himſelf with ſaying, 'That he thought it was every Man's 'Opinion, that a happy Agreement between his 'Majeſty and Parliament was of Neceſſity to his 'Affairs, both at Home and Abroad: That all the 'difference, in a continuance of this, or aſſembling 'of another Parliament, would depend only upon 'the likelihood of agreeing better and eaſier with 'one than t'other: That his Majeſty had ſpoken ſo 'much of his deſpairing about any Agreement with 'this preſent Parliament, and the hopes he had of 'doing it with another, that for his (Sir *William*'s) 'part, he thought that ought to decide it; becauſe 'he thought his Majeſty could better judg of that 'than any body elſe.' So his Majeſty order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for diſſolving the Parliament, and calling another to meet in *October* following: And thereupon the Council broke up with the greateſt Rage in the World, of the

Lord

Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and two or three more, and the general Diſſatisfaction of the whole Board.

After the Council, every Man's Head began to fill with the thoughts of the new Elections: And Sir *William Temple* having reſolv'd to ſtand for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, whereof the Duke of *Monmouth* was Chancellor; Sir *William* deſir'd the King to ſpeak to him, to write to ſome of his Friends in his Favour. But by all that the King was pleaſed to ſay, the Duke of *Monmouth* would not be brought further, than to promiſe he would not meddle in it one way or t'other; which gave Sir *William* the firſt plain Teſtimony of his Grace's Diſpoſitions towards him, having ever receiv'd, before, all outward Civilities from his Grace. However, his Election in the Univerſity proceeded with the moſt general Concurrence, and without any Difficulties, except ſuch as were rais'd by the Biſhop of *Ely*; who own'd his oppoſing Sir *William*, from a Chapter of *Religion* in his *Obſervations on the Netherlands*, which gave that Prelate an Opinion, that Sir *William* was for ſuch a *Toleration* as he deſcrib'd to be in *Holland*.

The Summer was declining, but the Duke of *Monmouth* in his greateſt height, when the King fell * ſick at *Windſor*, and with three ſuch Fits of an *Ague* and *Fever*, as gave much apprehenſion, and occaſion'd a *general Conſternation*; People looking upon any thing, at this time, that ſhould happen ill to the King, as an End *of the World*. Sir *William Temple* went to *Windſor* after the ſecond Fit; and having ſeen his Majeſty, obſerv'd more Strength and fewer ill Symptoms than had been reported; ſo that he could not think him in danger, without Accidents: and thereupon went thence, without entring into any Diſcourſes with the three Lords,

* Auguſt 25. 1679.

whom

whom he found very diligent at Court, in attending both the King's Perſon and Affairs.

Three or four Days after, having received Aſſurance of the King's Recovery, Sir *William Temple* went up to *London* to ſollicite the great Arrears of his Embaſſies at the Treaſury; and in his way to the Lord of *Eſſex*'s Houſe, where the Commiſſioners were met, he heard that the Duke of *York* was that * Night paſs'd through *London*, and rode Poſt to *Windſor*. This, he thought, at firſt, his Royal Highneſs had been induc'd to by the Reports of the King's Danger; and made no further Reflection upon it, than that of the great Surprize and Uneaſineſs that would be given the Lords *Eſſex* and *Halifax*, by this ſudden Arrival of the Duke, to whoſe Intereſts they had run counter for ſeveral Years: but upon their late breaking all Meaſures with the Lord *Shafiſbury*, Sir *William* thought he had Field enough left for doing them good Offices to the Duke of *York*. When he came to the Lord *Eſſex*'s Houſe, and ask'd for the Commiſſioners, he found that my Lord *Eſſex* had left them together, and was gone up into his Chamber; whither Sir *William* being immediately ſent for, he ſaw his Lordſhip booted and ready to get up on Horſeback. As ſoon as they were alone, the Lord *Eſſex* asked him, *Whether he had not met with ſtrange News, and what he thought of it?* Sir *William* anſwering, 'It did not ſeem very ſtrange 'that the Duke ſhould come, if he thought the 'King in danger.' The Lord *Eſſex* reply'd, *Yet 'twas ſtrange he ſhould come without leave from the King; and that now his Majeſty was well, ſure he would not think of ſtaying three Days;* That *he was going as faſt as he could to* Windſor, *to ſee what all this Buſineſs was*; and ask'd Sir *William*, *if he would not go?* Which he excus'd for that day, but promis'd the next.

* September 2.

In this little Diſcourſe, Sir *William* obſerv'd all along a ſnearing Smile, which he knew not what to make of: He thought, if it were a Countenance, it was better put on than was uſual with his Lordſhip; and that he ſhould be pleas'd at Heart, Sir *William* could not well imagine, knowing how things had paſs'd between the Duke and him. Next Day Sir *William* went to *Windſor*, and the firſt Man he met was Lord *Halliſax*, who with a Face of Trouble, and Hands lift up, told him, That *the Duke was come:* That *every Body was amazed; but where we were, or what would be next, no Body knew:* And ſo bid him go on to Court, before the King went out. After Sir *William* had been with the King, he went to the Duke, who receiv'd him with great Kindneſs; and ask'd him, ſmiling, and very familiarly, *Whether he did not wonder to ſee him here?* Sir *William* told him, *Not at all; if he had thought the King in danger; for in that caſe his Royal Highneſs had nothing elſe to do; and that he believed upon the firſt News of his Majeſty's Illneſs, he would come as near as he could, either to* Newport, *or* Calais, *and there expect the next News; but that the King's Sickneſs having paſs'd ſo ſoon, he confeſs'd he had not thought of his coming over.* After this, they talk'd of the King's Recovery; what ſtay his Royal Highneſs would make, which he ſaid, *ſhould be as the King pleas'd, for he would obey him in every thing:* And then Sir *William* gave his Royal Highneſs a ſhort account of Affairs here, as they had paſs'd ſince the Conſtitution of the Council. Upon this Chapter, he ſaid a great deal to make the Lords *Eſſex* and *Halliſax*'s Court, which he was very glad to ſee ſo well receiv'd by the Duke: For as to Lord *Sunderland*, he had little reaſon to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court. As for himſelf, Sir *William* only ſaid at laſt, 'That becauſe he did not 'know what *our preſent Diſtempers* might end in,

'if

if the next Parliament ſhould prove of the ſame Humour with the two laſt; nor what Meaſures his Royal Highneſs would fall into, about ſtaying or going away again; he would only ſay, That *let whatever would befal the King's Affairs, or his Highneſs's, he might always reckon upon him as a* LEGAL MAN, and one who would always *follow the Crown* as became him. Nor could any thing make the leaſt Scruple in this Reſolution, *unleſs things ſhould ever grow ſo deſperate,* as to BRING IN FOREIGNERS, *which* (if ever it ſhould be) *would be a new Caſe; and that Sir* William *knew not what to think of.* Upon this, the Duke laid his Hand upon Sir *William,* and bid him *keep there,* and *he would deſire no more of him or any Man.* And ſo Sir *William* took his leave, after a gracious Audience, and return'd home that Night; having miſs'd the Lords *Halliſax* and *Eſſex* at the Lord *Sunderland*'s, where they had appointed to meet.

Sir *William* made the Reflections he could not avoid upon the Carriage of his Friends, till within a few Days he heard the News of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Diſgrace; which tho it came by ſome degrees, yet they were ſo ſudden one after another, as to make it appear a loſt Game in the King's Favour: Tho nothing could ſeem more reaſonable than that which it ended in, *viz.* That while the Duke of *York* was abroad, the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould be ſo too; having made his Pretenſions ſo evident, and purſu'd them ſo much to the prejudice of the King's Affairs. However, being at a loſs how the Duke had been able, in ſo few Days, to get ſo great a Victory, Sir *William* went to *London,* and found my Lord *Halliſax* in Phyſick, but ſaw plainly his Diſtemper was not what he call'd it. His Head was very full, but very unquiet; and when they were left alone, all their Talk was by *Snatches*; *Sickneſs, ill Humour, Hate of Town* and *Buſineſs, Ridiculouſneſs*

lousneſs of human Life: and whenever Sir *William* turn'd any thing to the preſent Affairs, after their uſual manner, nothing but Action of Hands, or Eyes, Wonder and Signs of Trouble, and then Silence.

Sir *William* return'd home ſatisfy'd enough upon what Terms he ſtood with his Friends, tho he knew not whence it came, or whither it went; but he ſoon found out the whole Secret, which was, that upon the King's Illneſs the Lords *Eſſex* and *Halifax* being about him, thought his Danger great, and their own ſo too; and that if any thing happen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of *Monmouth* would be at the head of the Nation, in oppoſition to the Duke of *York*, upon pretence of *Popery*, and in conjunction with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; who had *threatned to have their Heads*, upon Prorogation of the laſt Parliament: which Threat was apply'd by the Lords *Eſſex* and *Halifax* to themſelves; reckoning the Lord *Sunderland* ſafe by his Relation to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the fair Terms that had always made between them. This Fright had ſo affected theſe two Lords, that not ſtaying to ſee what the King's ſecond Fit would be, they propos'd to the King the ſending immediately for the Duke; which being reſolv'd, and the Diſpatch made with all the Secrecy and Speed imaginable, his Royal Highneſs came over; but finding the King recover'd, it was agreed to paſs for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it ſhould be receiv'd by his Majeſty and the three Lords with all Marks of Surprize. When this was done, they found the Duke of *Monmouth* ſo enrag'd at this Counſel, as well as Lord *Shaftsbury*, that they ſaw no way but to ruin them both; throw them quite out of the King's Affairs, and join themſelves wholly with the Duke of *York*: Which they did for that time, till they had brought about all his Royal Highneſs deſir'd for his Security againſt

A fine turn of y^e Court against Monmouth & the Shaftsbury

the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; the first going over into * *Holland*, and the other being turn'd † out of the Council.

Tho Sir *William Temple* was glad of any Mortification that happen'd to the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, whose Ambition had run the Kingdom into such incurable *Divisions*, at a time that our Union was so necessary to the Affairs of Christendom; yet he highly resented the Carriage of the three Lords towards him in this Affair: not so much for their taking a Resolution of so great Importance, without his Knowledg and Concert, as for keeping him ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and so far, as to let him (Sir *William*) make such a Figure as he did, in making all the Court he could to his Royal Highness for the Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax*, while they were both in the Depth and Secret of his Interest and Counsels; and Sir *William*, who had reason to think himself well with the Duke, was left wholly out of all Confidence both with him and with them. He had reason to resent it yet further, when he found that some of them, perceiving the Duke much unsatisfy'd with the Constitution of the *new Council*, had, to make their own Court, laid the whole Load of it upon Sir *William*; whereas if the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Earl of *Essex* had not fallen into it with the greatest Applauses and Endeavours in the World to finish the Draught of it, the thing had certainly died; and Sir *William* would have been very well content it should, after he could not hinder the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s being brought in. Sir *William* could not forbear telling the Lord *Sunderland* of these Resentments; adding, 'He found himself so 'unfit for Courts, that he was resolved to pass the 'rest of his Life in his own Domestick, without trou-

R

* Septemb. 24. 1679. † Octob. 15. [illegible]bling

Essex & Hallifax both in the secret of the Duke of York, 'tis probable Essex lost his Life upon his own Mismanagement

'bling himſelf farther about any publick Affairs, 'than not to appear ſullen in not coming ſome-'times to general Councils; and that the Lord 'Eſſex and Lord *Halliſax*'s Carriage to him had been 'ſuch, after having been the two Men of *England* he 'had it in his Power and Fortunes moſt to oblige, 'that he would never have any thing more to do 'with them.' Upon this, all Commerce ceaſed between thoſe two Lords and Sir *William Temple*, further than common Civility when they met at Council, or in Third-places; tho the Lord *Halliſax* came to an *Eclairciſement* with him the Spring after, which ended very well; and Sir *William* did him all the good Offices he could in the Houſe of Commons, as well as in Council, upon their Heats againſt him.

Sir *William Temple* paſs'd the reſt of the *Autumn* at home, and left the *three Lords* in the chief Miniſtry, and, as outwardly appear'd, and they fondly believ'd, in ſole Confidence both with the *King* and *Duke*. Theſe two Princes acted their reſpective Parts ſo well in this *nice Juncture*, that the Lord *Eſſex* told Sir *John Temple*, Sir *William*'s Brother, that *he had more Credit with the King than all the reſt of the Miniſters, or any Man in* England: But the refin'd Courtiers, who obſerved Countenances and Motions, had no Opinion of it. And ſoon after, the Lords *Eſſex* and *Halliſax*, upon the pretended Diſcovery of the famous *Popiſh* Intrigue, call'd the *Meal-Tub-Plot*, took ſuch a Diſtaſte at finding themſelves mention'd in it, and yet left out of the ſecret Examinations about it; that the Duke was no ſooner gone * back for *Flanders*, but their Diſcontents grew open againſt the Court: my Lord *Eſſex* left the Treaſury; the Lord *Halliſax*, in Diſcourſe with Sir *William Temple*, commended him for it; and acquainted him with his Reſolution to go

* September 26.

down

down into the Country: And *tho he could not plant Melons as Sir* William *did, being in the North, yet he would plant* Carrots *and* Cucumbers, *rather than trouble himself any more about publick Affairs.* And accordingly he went down to *Rufford.* To their nearer Friends thoſe two Lords complain'd, That *they found they had no ſound part either in the King's Confidence or the Duke's: That they were but other Men's* Dupes, *and did other Men's Work: and finding no Meaſures would be taken for ſatisfying and uniting the Kingdom, they would no more ſhare in publick Buſineſs.*

Upon the Earl of *Eſſex*'s leaving the Treaſury, Mr. *Laurence Hyde* * came of courſe to be Firſt Commiſſioner; and he and Mr. † *Sidney Godolphin* were brought into the Council, where Sir *William Temple* met them the next time he came, and complimented them upon it, as two Perſons that had always been his Friends, and agreed with him in all his Opinions and Meaſures about Affairs abroad, wherein only they had been converſant. Theſe two join'd in Confidence with the Lord *Sunderland*; and the other two Lords being in Diſcontent or abſent, and Sir *William Temple* keeping at home, this *Triumvirate* was eſteem'd to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King's Affairs, and were, at leaſt, the *Miniſtry.*

The Duke of *York* being in *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* in *Holland*, the Lord *Shaftsbury* endeavour'd to inflame the Reckoning of the late Conduct in the Parliament which was to meet in *October*, and to ſet about Petitions, in caſe they did not ſit. And the *Miniſters not being able to ſtand the opening of the Parliament*, a ſhort *Prorogation* was expected ſome Days before that appointed for their

* *Afterwards Earl of* Rocheſter.
† *Afterwards Earl of* Godolphin.

Aſſem-

Assembly. Sir *William Temple* had not been at Court or Council in a Month or six Weeks, when being recover'd of a Fit of the *Gout*, he came * to Town, and went to the Lord *Sunderland*; talk'd to him of his Arrears in the Treasury, desir'd his help: which his Lordship promis'd with great Kindness, and went with him to the King, where they propos'd and agreed the way of Sir *William*'s satisfaction. From the King's Chamber they went to the Council, where Sir *William* expected nothing but such common things as he knew had pass'd for a good while before; but after a short Pause, the King told them, 'That upon many Considerations, which he 'would not at present acquaint them with, he 'found it necessary to make a longer *Prorogation* 'than he had intended, of the Parliament: That 'he had weigh'd all the Consequences, so far as to 'be absolutely resolv'd not to hear any thing that 'should be said against it: That he would not have 'the Parliament sit till that time Twelve-Month; 'and charg'd the Lord Chancellor to proceed ac-'cordingly; and first to prorogue them to the 26*th* 'of *January* next.' All at Council were stunn'd at this surprizing Resolution, and the *way of proposing it*, except those few that were in the Secret; and they thought fit to be silent, and leave the thing wholly upon his Majesty. Several others rose up, and would have entred into the Reasonings and Consequences of it; but *the King would not hear them*, and so all Debate ended. After this, Sir *William* stood up, and with great Judgment and an admirable Turn of Wit, peculiar to himself, told the King, *That as to the Resolution he had taken, he would say nothing, because he was resolv'd to hear no reasoning upon it; therefore he would only presume to offer his Majesty his humble Advice, as to the Course of his future Proceed-*

* October 24. 1679.

ings;

ings; which was, That his Majesty, in his Affairs, would please to make use of some Council or other, and allow Freedom to their Debates and Advices; after hearing which, his Majesty might yet resolve as he pleased. That if he did not think the Persons or Number of this present Council suited with his Affairs, it was in his power to dissolve them, and constitute another of any Number he pleased; and to alter them again when he would: But to make COUNSELLORS THAT SHOULD NOT COUNSEL, Sir *William* DOUBTED whether it were in his Majesty's Power, or not, *because it imply'd a Contradiction; and so far as he had observ'd, either of former Ages or the present, he question'd whether it was a thing had been practised in* England *by his Majesty's Predecessors, or was so now by any of the Princes in Christendom.*

The King heard Sir *William* very graciously; nor did his Majesty seem at all to be displeas'd with any thing he had said, which was very much approv'd by most Lords of the Council: Yet when they were up, the Earl of *Sunderland* came to Sir *William*, and told him, *He was never so surprized as at what he had said, and expected it sooner from any Man in* England *than Sir* William: Adding, *That whatever Resolutions had been taken about his Business in the Treasury, he was sure nothing should be done.* Sir *William* reply'd, *That if this Lordship liked not what he had said, he should have prevented it, by telling him, before he came to Council, what was intended to be done; which if* he (Sir *William*) had known, he would not have been there; *and that if his Debt would not be paid, he must live the best he could without it.*

Not long before, the Prince of *Orange* wrote Sir *William* word, how much he found the Duke unsatisfy'd with him, upon the belief that Sir *William* had given the *Prince those Impressions and Sentiments he had upon the common Affairs of Christendom; whereas he could say, on the contrary, that it was he* (the Prince)

Prince) *had given Sir* William *his*; *and ſhould never change his own, till he were convinc'd of being in the Wrong: However, that he thought fit, out of Friendſhip to Sir* William, *to give him this Advice.* Thus Sir *William* was in a poſture to make but an indifferent Figure at Court: The Duke of *York* unſatisfy'd with him of late; the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* from the very firſt; the Lords *Eſſex* and *Halliſax* out of all *Commerce* with him; great Civility from the other Miniſters, but no Communication; and the King himſelf, tho very gracious, yet very reſerv'd. Upon all this, and the melancholy Proſpect of the Diſtractions at home, and thereupon the Diſaſters threatning abroad; but chiefly * his own native Humour, born either for a private Life and particular Converſation, or general Leiſure, with a *mixture of Philoſophical Uprightneſs and Sincerity*, that made him unfit for the *Windings* and *Turnings* of a Court; he reſolv'd by degrees, to wind himſelf out of all publick Affairs.

The Parliament being met on the 26*th* of *January* $16\frac{7}{8}\frac{9}{0}$, the King prorogu'd them to the 15*th* of *April* following; and two days after declar'd in Council, that he would ſend for the Duke of *York*, who ſome days after his return into *Flanders*, had the King's leave to come over, in order to go to *Scotland*. The Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord *Cavendiſh* †, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, diſteſted at the late Prorogations, the *remiſs Proſecution*, or rather *ridiculing* of the *Popiſh Plot*, and growing Power of the Duke of *York*; and deſpairing of being able to ſerve the King any longer, in a Conduct of Affairs ſo diſagreeable to the general Humour of the People, and ſo inconſiſtent with the true Intereſt of the Nation; deſir'd || his Ma-

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 95.
† *The late Duke of* Devonſhire, *firſt Duke of that Name.*
|| January 21.

jeſty

jeſty to excuſe their Attendance any more upon him at Council; to which the King, with his uſual Frankneſs, anſwer'd, *With all my Heart.* The Lords *Saliſbury*, *Eſſex* and *Halliſax*, ſeem'd to have taken the ſame Reſolution, tho not in ſo much Form: Upon which, Sir *William Temple*, who ever preſerv'd an untainted Loyalty to the Crown, with an *unſhaken Love to his Country, and Publick Spirit*, thought it might be a great Prejudice to his Majeſty's Affairs, to be left by ſo many at once; and that if he wholly gave over, at the ſame time, it would look like entring into a Faction with Perſons who were only diſpleas'd with the preſent Scene, upon hopes of entring ſoon upon another; which was no part of his deſigns: Therefore he reſolv'd to go again to Council, to ſhew he had not herded with thoſe that had left it; and that his leaving it too might not occaſion ſome Men's greater Diſtaſtes at the Government. This the Lord *Sunderland* took ſo kindly, that by his help Sir *William* came to an Iſſue in the moſt difficult Point of his Buſineſs in the Treaſury.

Not many days after, the Earl of *Sunderland* acquainted Sir *William*, that Mr. Secretary *Coventry* being abſolutely reſolv'd to part with his Place, and the King having found Sir *William* had long declin'd it, had now thoughts of conſenting to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s coming into it; but that his Majeſty would do nothing without firſt letting Sir *William* know his thoughts: and ask'd, *Whether he had any thing to ſay upon it?* Sir *William* made no ſtop in the World, but told his Lordſhip, 'That the King 'could do nothing for him that he would take kinder 'than this; that he had ſeveral times preſs'd his 'Majeſty to a new choice; and once offer'd to name 'ſome to him that he knew were fit for it: That 'he had reſolv'd againſt it ſo long, that his Ma'jeſty had no reaſon to remember any of his En'gagements to him, how voluntary ſoever; but that

'he was pleas'd to do it, was the moſt obliging in 'the World; and he was reſolv'd immediately to 'go and make him his Acknowledgments.' Sir *William* did ſo; they were extremely well taken; the King us'd him with great Kindneſs; and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* came into the Secretary's Office on the 11*th* of *February*.

Sir *William Temple* paſs'd the remaining part of the Winter in Town, tho with much Indiſpoſition, going ſometimes to the Council, and ſometimes to the foreign Committee, but not frequently to either; and meddling very little with any thing that paſs'd there, unleſs it was what concern'd the Affairs of *Ireland*. The Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, having tranſmitted ſeveral Bills over to the Council here, in order to be paſs'd in a Parliament there, this brought the Earl of *Eſſex* again into play, after ſo much Diſcontent and ſo little Attendance, for ſome Months, at the Council. His Eye and Heart having ever been bent upon his Return to the Government of *Ireland*, his Lordſhip ſteer'd wholly by that Compaſs, and purſu'd Court or Popular Humour as he thought either likelieſt to further his End: And whenever the *Iriſh* Acts came into Council, he was ſure to be there; firſt raiſing Difficulties in the particular Acts, and arraigning not only the Prudence, but common Senſe of the Lord Lieutenant and Council there: Then arguing againſt the ASSEMBLING a PARLIAMENT in that Kingdom; and at laſt introducing Sir *James Sheen* to make Propoſals of increaſing the King's Revenue there eighty Thouſand Pounds a Year, upon a *new Farm* to himſelf and the Company he offer'd to be join'd with him. This Scheme was ever ſupported by the Lord *Eſſex*, and ever oppos'd by Sir *William Temple* with more ſharpneſs than was uſual to him upon any Debates; becauſe he * *had*

* Ubi ſupra, *p.* 102.

found

found out the Cheat of the whole thing; and that this Farm, as it was drawn out, was not of the Revenue, but of the Crown of Ireland. Mr. *Hyde*, who was at the head of all matters concerning the King's Revenue, had embrac'd this Propoſal very warmly, and his Patronage in Council gave great ſtrength to the Debates upon it; being little oppos'd, but by Sir *Lionel Jenkins* and Sir *William*: But the latter laid the matter ſo bare, that it drew out into length that whole Spring; and the King went ſo far into Sir *William*'s Opinion, that when it was to come to Council or Committee, his Majeſty ſent particularly to him to be there. This Account we have from Sir *William Temple* himſelf: But it is not improbable that his Warmth in this Buſineſs was partly owing both to his intire *Devotion* to the Duke of *Ormond*, and his late *Pique* to the Earl of *Eſſex*: For Sir *William Temple* was not ſo much a *Philoſopher*, as to be intirely diveſted of *Paſſions*; and, of all *Paſſions*, he was moſt ſubject to *Spleen* and *Reſentment* of *Injuries* receiv'd, which, indeed is the moſt general of all *human Frailties*.

Upon the Motions of this Affair, Sir *William* grew into more Attendance upon the King, and more Commerce with the Lord *Sunderland* and Mr. *Hyde*: But continuing ſtill his Reſolutions, to wind himſelf out of all publick Buſineſs, and to that end talking often to them of his deſign to make a Journey to *Florence*, both upon occaſion of his Health, and Promiſe to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*; hereupon they both propos'd to him, if he had a mind to go into a hot Country, to go into *Spain*, and do it with a Character from the King, who was likely to have Affairs there; rather than make a Journey, like young Gentlemen, only to ſee the Country. Sir *William* told them, he was unwilling to charge himſelf again with the Fatigue of an Embaſſy, or to run again the Hazard he had done

ſo often already, of being undone by thoſe Employments: That if he could reſolve upon it, he did not ſee what Affairs the King could have in *Spain*, whilſt he had ſuch as he ſeem'd to have at preſent in *England*; nor could he ſee what uſe any Leagues or Meaſures Abroad would be to his Majeſty, *unleſs ſome Union at Home would enable him to ſupport them.* The Miniſters were mighty earneſt to engage Sir *William* in this Embaſſy, upon a belief that a ſtricter Alliance with *Spain* would conduce to a good Seſſion of Parliament; and that Sir *William*'s charging himſelf with the Management of it, would give a general Opinion, both at Home and Abroad, of our *Sincerity* in it. The King ſeem'd very deſirous of his undertaking it: and tho Sir *William* declin'd it a good while, having no *Opinion the thing had a good Root*, or that it would have the Effect hoped for upon the next Meeting of Parliament; yet, at laſt, he brought it to this Point, That he would not charge himſelf with going to make the intended Alliance; but if his Majeſty ſhould think fit to conclude it here with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, he would be content to go and cultivate it in *Spain*. This was done * by the Miniſters; and the King having on the 7*th* of *Auguſt* 1680, declar'd him his Ambaſſador-Extraordinary to *Spain*, Sir *William* paſs'd his Privy-Seal; receiv'd his Equipage, and ſpent the latter end of the Summer in the Preparations for his Journey. Theſe were finiſh'd about the middle of *September*, when the King told him, that ſince the Parliament drew ſo near, and ſo much depended upon it, of all that concern'd him either Abroad or at Home, he was reſolv'd to ſtay him, at leaſt till the opening of it; by which they ſhould judg of the further Progreſs.

Upon the Duke of *York*'s returning from *Scotland*,

* June 23. 1680.

the

the Duke of *Monmouth* came out of *Holland*, without leave, and ſo came not to Court; whereby he ſeem'd to make himſelf the Head of thoſe that were diſcontented, either with the Duke's Return, or the Intermiſſion of Parliament. In acting this part, he was guided by Lord *Shaftsbury*, who reſolv'd to blow up the Fire as high as he could this Summer, ſo as to make the Neceſſity the greater of the Parliament's ſitting: And becauſe *Boldneſs looks like Strength* *, to encourage his Party with an Opinion of both, he engag'd ſeveral Lords, and among them the Lord *Ruſſel*, to go with him to *Weſtminſter-Hall* publickly, and there, at the *King's-Bench*, to preſent the Duke as a *Popiſh Recuſant*. Tho the matter had no Conſequences in the Forms of the Court, yet it had a general one upon the Minds of the People, and a ſtrong one on the Paſſions of all thoſe who were ſo publickly ingag'd in this bold ſtep againſt the Duke; which was breaking all Meaſures with him. The Lord *Eſſex*, who had purſu'd his return to the Government of *Ireland*, began to let the Buſineſs of Sir *James Sheen* cool, and to reckon upon laying a ſurer Foundation for that deſign, from the Credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this, he began to fall into new Commerce with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; who told him, *My Lord, if you will come in, never trouble your ſelf, we'll make you Lieutenant of* Ireland: and the way to his return, was to oppoſe the Duke of *York*'s ſtay during the Seſſion of Parliament. The Lord *Halifax*, tho he fell not in with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, yet was glad to make fair Weather againſt the Parliament met, by his oppoſitions to the Duke. The Earl of *Sunderland* was ſtruck with the Boldneſs of the Lords *Preſentment* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Conſequence of ſuch Men being deſperately engag'd in an At-

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 112.

tempt

tempt wherein they were like to be ſeconded by the Humour of the Nation, upon the juſt Alarms of *Popery*; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to ſupport the Duke any longer: And he believ'd his Majeſty himſelf was of the ſame mind. Mr. *Godolphin* fell into the ſame Thoughts: ſo as upon the Debate in Council, concerning the Duke's ſtay, or going back to *Scotland* before the Parliament met, theſe four join'd abſolutely in the Reaſons for his going away. And tho the reſt of the Council were generally of the contrary Opinion, yet the King fell in with theſe Four, and concluded the thing againſt the Duke's Will and his Friends. Sir *William Temple* had no ſhare in that Debate; for during theſe Tranſactions he was in the Country, with his Thoughts wholly turn'd upon his Preparations for the *Spaniſh* Embaſſy; and he was the willinger to be there, upon the *Reſolution* he had long been fix'd in, *never to enter into any Differences or Perſonal Matters between the King and his Brother.*

On the 22*d* of *October* the Duke of *York* ſet out for *Scotland*, and the next Day the Parliament began, with the general Knowledg of ſo many great Perſons having appear'd ſo publickly againſt his Royal Highneſs in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and ſo conſiderable ones in the Court it ſelf, and at the Council-Board. The Houſe of Commons met with ſuch a Bent upon the chief of their home Concerns, that the name of any thing foreign would not be allow'd among them: nay, the mention of *Spaniſh Leagues*, Alliances with *Holland*, and Meaſures intended by the King with other Confederates, were laugh'd at as *Court-Tricks, too ſtale to paſs any more.* Hereupon they fell downright upon a Point invincible, which was the BILL OF EXCLUSION, wherein the moſt conſiderable of Lords and Commons were engag'd, not only upon Opinion of *National Ends*, but likewiſe upon that of *Self-Preſervation, having*

broken

broken irreparably all Meaſures already with the Duke. And the generality of the Commons were carry'd, partly with the Plauſibleneſs of the thing, calculated in appearance only againſt Popery; and partly with the Opinion of the King's Reſolution to fall into it. All the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends drove it on violently, not doubting but he would lie in the Duke's place, tho no Proviſion ſeem'd to be made for that in the Forms of the Draught: And all theſe Circumſtances concurring, made ſo violent a Torrent for carrying on this Bill, as nothing could reſiſt, or any ways divert; and, as it generally happens, the ſmall Oppoſition made by two or three Men, made the Violence the greater. Beſides theſe general Circumſtances, there were two more particular, that ſeem'd to have great Influence upon the Houſe; one was, the Lord *Ruſſel* ſetting himſelf at the head of this Affair, he being generally known to be an honeſt worthy Gentleman, without *Tricks* or private Ambition; and, at the ſame time, to venture as great a Stake, perhaps, as any Subject of *England*: The other was Sir *William Jones* entring upon it ſo deſperately as he did, the firſt day he came into the Houſe; and he being a Perſon of great Virtue and Piety, and having the name of the greateſt Lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very wiſe Man; beſides this, of a very rich, and of a wary, or rather timorous Nature; made People generally conclude that the thing was certain and ſafe, and would, at laſt, be agreed on all parts, whatever Countenance were made at Court.

Thus the Bill paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and was carry'd up by the Lord *Ruſſel* to the Houſe of Lords, where it met with another kind of Reception. The King was reſolv'd, and declar'd againſt the Bill: And tho the Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Eſſex*, and about fifteen more were violently for it, yet the reſt of the Houſe were firm and poſitive againſt it; among

among whom the Lord *Halifax* appear'd moſt at the head of all Debates: and ſo it was, after long Conteſt, abſolutely thrown out. This inrag'd the Houſe of Commons, who having fail'd of the only thing they ſeem'd to have at heart, fell upon Heats againſt the Government and Miniſters, not without ſome glancing at the King; engag'd, firſt, in the purſuit of the Lord *Stafford* to the Block, upon the Score of the Plot; and then in Addreſſes, either upon general Diſcontents in the Publick Affairs, or upon common Fame againſt particular Perſons. This was return'd with Heats at Court by thoſe Miniſters that were chiefly touch'd: which were the Lord *Halifax*, who, by a ſudden Turn, had, at the beginning of the Seſſion, fallen into the open Defence of the Duke's Intereſt; and Mr. *Hyde*, who by his Relation to the Duke, and by his Education wholly at Court, was ever firſt in that Point.

During the whole Proceedings of this Seſſion of Parliament, Sir *William Temple* acted a prudent and cautious part. It was ſome Days before he took his Place in the Houſe of Commons, having been ingag'd in a diſputed Election; and ſo ſoon as he ſaw the Bent of the Houſe, the Violence with which it was carry'd, and the Diſtractions it was like to ingage the Kingdom in, he gave over firſt all *Hopes*, and then all *Thoughts* upon ſo unpleaſant a Theme. In the Buſineſs of the *Bill of Exclusion* he never meddled, nor ſo much as reaſon'd, either in or out of the Houſe; having declar'd his Opinion to the King and his Miniſters, that it was to no purpoſe to oppoſe it there; nor for the King to take notice of the Commons Addreſs upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any Bills or Addreſſes upon things of that nature were brought to him from both Houſes, he would anſwer them. By this means Sir *William* thought the King was ſure of his End; for the Bill would certainly fall as often as it came

came into the Houſe of Lords; and if his Majeſty ſhould be forc'd to diſſolve the Parliament, it would be better done upon the invincible Difference between the two Houſes, than upon any between his Majeſty and the Houſe of Commons: But this Opinion was not agreed to by the chief Miniſters. After that, Sir *William* preſs'd both the King and them to bring ſuch *Expedients* as, they told him, were reſolv'd on; that ſo they might make all the ſtrength they could to ſupport them in the Houſe of Commons, and thereby reduce things to ſome *Temper:* But theſe, tho daily talk'd of, never appear'd. Sir *William* went not often either to the Houſe or Council; when he did, and thought it to any purpoſe, he endeavour'd to *allay the Heats on either ſide*; and told the King, *he expected to be turn'd out of the Houſe in the Morning, and out of the Council in the Afternoon.* Mr. *Hyde* asking him one Day, in the Council-Chamber, why he came ſo ſeldom to *Houſe* or *Council*, Sir *William* told him, *'Twas upon* Solomon's *Advice, neither to oppoſe the Mighty, nor go about to ſtop the Current of a River:* Upon which Mr. *Hyde* ſaid, *He* (Sir *William*) *was a wiſe and a quiet Man; and if it were not for ſome Circumſtances he could not help, he would do ſo too.*

Sir *William* ſpoke ſeldom in the Houſe: but upon the Motion of Supplies for *Tangier*, he made a remarkable Speech, relating both to that *Buſineſs*, and the Lords rejecting the *Bill of Excluſion*; which was as follows:

Mr. SPEAKER,

THIS Debate hath more of Weight in it than the Buſineſs of Tangier, *I think. As Affairs now ſtand, the moſt part of* Chriſtendom *is concern'd in it, I am ſure all the* Proteſtants; *and therefore, I hope, your Patience will hold out, to have the whole Circumſtances of it fairly examin'd: For the Arguments that*

have been offer'd in the Conſideration of this Meſſage, have inlarg'd the Debate further than was, at firſt, intended; and have brought the whole State of the Nation, in ſome meaſure, before you, inſtead of that one particular Buſineſs of Tangier: *ſo that now what Reſolve you make will be a diſcovery of your Inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a* Supply *for* Tangier, *but as to giving Mony for* Alliances, *and all other* Occaſions; *upon which Reſult the good or bad Succeſs of this Parliament doth depend. As to* Tangier, *I do agree with that worthy Member that ſpoke before (tho many are of a different Opinion) that it is not of any great Uſe to us, upon the account of any Advantage we ſhall make by it: But, however, I think it is very well worth our keeping; becauſe of the Diſadvantages we ſhould receive by it, if it ſhould fall into the Hands either of the* Turk *or* Spaniard, *but eſpecially the* French; *who will not only be thereby inabled to fetter us, as to our Trade in the* Levant, *but to curb alſo all other Nations whatſoever; and be ſuch an Addition to the too great Power he hath acquir'd both by Sea and Land already, that I am of Opinion, we ought to be very cautious how we weaken the* Security we now have, that it ſhall not fall into his Hands. *But if the* Mole *and the Town could be blown into the Air, or otherwiſe reduc'd into its firſt Chaos, I think, conſidering the Charge it will coſt keeping,* England *would not be much the worſe for it: but to move you to conſider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, becauſe the* Moors *have ſo beſieg'd it, that the firſt thing that muſt be done, whether in order to keep it or deſtroy it, is, to beat them off by ſome ſpeedy Supplies which muſt be preſently ſent; or elſe the Town, according to the beſt Information come from thence, is like to be loſt. And, Sir, I think this ſingle Conſideration may be perſuaſive to move you to give ſome ſuch Supply as may be preciſely neceſſary for the Defence and Protection of this Place. A ſmall Sum of Mony, in*

compa-

Comparison of what this House hath formerly given, may be sufficient to satisfy his Majesty's Expectation, and secure the Navy too. But I must confess, Sir, it is not the Consideration of Tangier *that makes me press you to it, but the deplorable State of the* Protestants Abroad. *Sir, I have had the Honour to serve his Majesty in some publick Imployments, and by that means may be a little more sensible of the State of Affairs, in reference to our Neighbours, than others may be; having not only had the Advantage of Information, but was under a Necessity of using my best Endeavours to get a true Account of them. Sir,* I am confident the Eyes of all *Europe* are upon this Parliament; and not only the Protestants Abroad, but many Catholick Countries (who stand in fear of the Power of *France*) do think themselves as much concern'd in the Success of this Parliament, as this House, and will be as much perplex'd to hear any ill News thereof. *This, Sir, as well as the Necessities of our Affairs at Home, make me trouble you at this time, to desire you to be careful what you do, that we may not occasion in his Majesty any Dislike to this House. Whatever you do as to the Business of Mony for* Tangier, *pray, Sir, let there be no notice taken in your Address, of the Lords having cast out your Bill; for we have no reason to think the King was any ways concern'd therein. To throw out a Bill of so great Importance, without a Conference, was, in my humble Opinion, very strange, and contrary to the usual Proceedings of that House. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their Doors that did it, for the King could not be concern'd in a Parliamentary way. For by this means we may obviate all Misunderstandings with his Majesty about this Affair, and, I hope, create in him a good Opinion of this House, upon which the Welfare, not only of this Nation, but of* Europe, *doth much depend.* SIR, *his Majesty in his Message puts you in mind of giving Advice, as well as Mony; I think, if we make that Expression the ground of our Address, we may na-*

turally graft very good things thereon; especially what may conduce to the Preservation of a fair Correspondence. Sir, Tho a King alone cannot save a Kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to ruin it; and tho Parliaments alone cannot save this Kingdom, yet Parliaments alone may do much to ruin it. *And therefore we cannot be too circumspect in what we do. It is our Fortune to sit here in a critical Time, when not only the Affairs of this Nation, but the Protestant Religion Abroad need our Countenance; and for the same reason we may justly fear, that there are those who endeavour to contrive the putting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any Advantage, and then I doubt not but his Majesty's Care and Goodness will, at last, overcome all Difficulties, and bring this Session to a happy conclusion.*

Sir *William* spoke also in the House upon the Digestion of the first Address about general Grievances; and in the cases of my Lord Chief Justice *North*, and my Lord *Hallifax* being impeach'd upon common Fame. At general Councils that were held in this critical Juncture, he never spoke unless it were upon the House of Commons Address against the Lord *Hallifax*, and upon a Debate about dissolving the Parliament; wherein *he desir'd the King and Council never to lay aside the Thoughts and Endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other Parliament, as a matter of so great Necessity to the State of his Majesty's Affairs, both Abroad and at Home.* The Lord *Hallifax* answer'd him in few words, That every body was sensible of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, tho not with this: And Mr. (afterwards Sir *Edward*) *Seymour*, said, *He perfectly agreed with Sir* William Temple.

The last thing Sir *William* did, either in *House* or *Council*, was on the 4*th* of *January*, to carry the King's

King's laſt Anſwer to the Commons Addreſs of the 20th of *December*, containing his Majeſty's Reſolution never to conſent to the Excluſion of the Duke of *York*. Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* had been charg'd with it the Night before, at Council; but he was thought too *unacceptable* to the Houſe, it ſeems, for a Meſſage that was like to prove ſo; and ſo, the next Morning, the King would have had either Sir *Robert Carr* or Mr. *Godolphin* have carry'd it. They both excuſing themſelves, the King ſent for Sir *William Temple*, who told his Majeſty, *He did not very well underſtand why a thing agreed upon laſt Night at Council-Table, ſhould be alter'd in his Chamber; but that he was very willing, however, to obey him, and the rather upon others having excus'd themſelves, and to ſhew his Majeſty that he intended to play no popular Games.* Upon which he took the Paper, and told the King, that *he was very ſenſible how much of his Confidence he formerly had, and how much he had loſt, without knowing the Occaſion, or elſe he might have had part in the conſulting this Change of what was laſt Night reſolv'd, as well as in executing it; and he would confeſs to his Majeſty, that he had not ſo good a Stomach in Buſineſs as to be content only, with* ſwallowing what other People had chew'd. This Anſwer *is the only thing Sir* William *could imagine the King could ever take ill of him: And yet*, adds he **, I know not how it could be a Fault, more than in Point of Manners neither, or in the Homelineſs of the Expreſſion.*

Be that as it will, he carry'd the King's Meſſage to the Houſe, which was receiv'd juſt as was expected; and Sir *William Jones*, who had taken an Affection to Sir *William Temple*, being heartily ſorry to ſee him employ'd in the delivery of ſo unacceptable an Anſwer, told him, *That for himſelf he was old and infirm, and expected to die ſoon; but you*, ſaid he

* Ubi ſupra, *p.* 132.

in

in a prophetical Spirit, *will in all probability live to see the whole Kingdom lament the Conſequences of this Meſſage you have now brought us from the King.* When the Commons * took the King's Anſwer into Conſideration, after long Debate, and a deſpair of any *effectual Expedients*, they reſolv'd, First, *That there was no Security nor Safety for the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Life, or Government of this Nation, without paſſing a Bill for diſabling* JAMES *Duke of* YORK *to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and to rely upon any other Means and Remedies without ſuch a Bill, was not only inſufficient, but dangerous.* 2dly. *That his Majeſty, in his laſt Meſſage, having aſſur'd this Houſe of his readineſs in all other Means for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe did declare, that until a Bill be likewiſe paſs'd for excluding the Duke of* YORK, *this Houſe could not give any Supply to his Majeſty, without Danger to his Majeſty's Perſon, extreme Hazard of the Proteſtant Religion, and Unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom this Houſe was intruſted.* Theſe Reſolutions were follow'd by Votes of Addreſſes againſt ſeveral Perſons; and the Heats ſtill increaſing, the King, on the 10th of *January* 168½, firſt prorogu'd the Parliament, and on the 18th diſſolv'd it by Proclamation; declaring, he had given Orders for the Iſſuing out of Writs, for the calling of a new Parliament, which ſhould begin and be holden at *Oxford* on the 21ſt of *March* following.

We muſt obſerve, in relation to the *unlucky Meſſage* before-mention'd, that Sir *William* was of Opinion it ſhould be, *That when both Houſes agreed upon an Addreſs to that purpoſe, the King would give them an Anſwer; but till then, would ſuſpend it, and not ſend a poſitive Anſwer to one Houſe upon ſo weighty an Occaſion, which, for ought his Majeſty knew, might be contrary to the Senſe of the other: By which means he would*

* January 7.

he

be ſecure from the Neceſſity of any direct Breach with the Commons; ſince he knew well enough the Lords would not conſent to the Addreſs. That if this Parliament broke up on Diſputes, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a third, and agree with ſome of them; by which alone he could be great *and* ſafe *both at* Home *and* Abroad. *For it was between the* King *and his* Parliament, *as between the* Mountain *and* Mahomet, *who told the People what* Miracles *he would do when he was at the Top of the* Mountain; *and to that purpoſe he would, on ſuch a Day, call it to him: He did ſo, but the Mountain would not come; whereupon he ſaid, that* if the Mountain would not come to *Mahomet*, he would go to the *Mountain*; *for unleſs they both met, no Wonders could be done.* The King ſeem'd pleas'd with all Sir *William Temple* ſaid, and with the Compariſon; but thoſe of the Committee of the Council, who were chief in the private Meaſures taken at this time, were for a poſitive Anſwer to be given to the Houſe of Commons, let them take it how they pleas'd. This compleated Sir *William*'s Reſolution of Receſs from all publick Buſineſs; for he ſaw plainly, that both *Parties who could agree in nothing elſe, yet did it in this one Point, of bringing things to the laſt Extremity.* The Lord *Shafteſbury* and his Party thought the Points of popular Diſcontents, or at leaſt, that of the King's Wants, would, at laſt, bring the Court to their Mercy, in one Parliament or other: And, on the other ſide, thoſe Miniſters who were paſt all Meaſures with the Houſe of Commons, thought there was no way but by their Heats, to bring the King to a *Diſlike*, and thereby to a Diſuſe of Parliaments: And by this likewiſe, the Duke's Intereſt ſeem'd at preſent only to be ſecur'd.

Theſe Conſiderations could not, however, move the King to diſſolve this Parliament without calling another at the ſame time. Whereupon the Heads of the Univerſity at *Cambridge* ſent to Sir *William Temple*,

Temple, to know whether he intended to ſtand again for that Election? He went to the King to acquaint his Majeſty with it, and know his Pleaſure what Anſwer he ſhould return them. The King ſeem'd at firſt indifferent, and bid him do what he would: But when Sir *William* ſaid, *He was very indifferent too, and would do in it what his Majeſty liked beſt*; his Majeſty ſaid, in a kind familiar manner, That *conſidering how things ſtood at this time, he doubted Sir* William's *coming into the Houſe would not be able to do much good*; *and therefore he thought it as well for him to let it alone*: Which Sir *William* ſaid, he would do. From the King he went to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and told him what had paſs'd; which his Lordſhip took as the firſt *certain Sign* of his Majeſty's having left off all Thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his Meaſures another way for the Supply of his Treaſury: Whereupon he ſaid, in ſome Paſſion, *He now gave all for gone*; and that *he muſt confeſs Sir* William *knew the King better than he had done*. And ſo they parted.

A few Days after, Sir *William* went to *Sheen*, from whence he ſent the King word, by his Son, *That he would paſs the reſt of his Life as good a Subject as any his Majeſty had, but that he would never meddle any more with any Publick Affairs*; *and deſir'd his Majeſty would not be diſpleas'd with this Reſolution.* The King very graciouſly bid him tell Sir *William*, that *he was not angry with him, no not at all.* Sir *William* had not been above a Week at *Sheen*, when my Lady *Northumberland* (who liv'd then at *Sion*) came to his Cloſet one Morning, and told him, that the Day before his Name was ſtruck out of the Council, with thoſe of the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Eſſex*; upon which Sir *William* made no Reflections nor Inquiries: tho many others ſeem'd much to wonder, and ask'd of him, what could be the reaſon of his being

being join'd with the other two Lords, whoſe Proceedings had been very different? The truth is, my Lord *Sunderland* was, during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, fallen under a great Diſpleaſure of his Majeſty: Firſt, For his voting in the Lords Houſe for the *Bill of Excluſion*, againſt the King's expreſs Command; Secondly, Upon account of a Memorial ſent over by Mr. *Sidney*, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, and given him by the Penſioner *Fagel*, repreſenting 'the ſad Conſequences Abroad of his 'Majeſty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the 'Danger of his Allies, and of the Proteſtant Reli-'gion; and thereupon, tho not directly, yet ſeem-'ing to wiſh, that the King would not break with 'them, tho it were even upon the Point of the *Bill* '*of Excluſion.*' Some of the Lords of the *Foreign Committee* believ'd it a thing directed and adviſ'd from hence by my Lord *Sunderland* to Mr. *Sidney* his Unkle, as a matter that would be of weight to induce the King to paſs the Bill: But, beſides that the Lord *Sunderland* proteſted to Sir *William Temple*, that he knew nothing of it till he receiv'd a Copy from Mr. *Sidney*, who ſent the Original to the Secretary; Sir *William* thought * his Lordſhip *could not underſtand the King ſo ill, as to believe that Memorial would be a Motive to him to paſs the Bill, or that it could have any other Effect, than to anger him at the* Dutch, *for meddling in a matter that was Domeſtick, not only to the Nation, but to the Crown.* Beſides, Sir *William* obſerv'd the Stile to be of one that underſtood little of our Conſtitution; which, together with the whole Caſt of it, made him believe it came from the Penſioner *Fagel*, a Man of great Piety and Zeal in his Religion; mightily concern'd for all he thought would endanger it; and beſides, of great Warmth and Suddenneſs in purſuing any Thought that poſ-

* Ubi ſupra, p. 146.

ſeſs'd him. However, the King, as well as ſome others, believ'd this was of my Lord *Sunderland*'s Forge; and that many of the Heats in the Houſe of Commons had been rais'd to ſuch a height, by his ſeeming to encourage them: which they might think he would not do, unleſs he believ'd the King would at length comply with them. On the other hand, the Lord *Sunderland* was fallen into an outrageous Quarrel with the Lord *Halifax*, not only upon their dividing in the Affairs of the Parliament and Council; but likewiſe upon the Lord *Sunderland*'s entring into new Commerce and Meaſures with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury*: Which laſt was alſo the reaſon of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s removal. How Sir *William Temple* came to be join'd with theſe two Lords, by the King's ordering their Names to be ſtruck out of the Council-Book at the ſame time, he neither knew nor ever could aſſign any Reaſon; unleſs it were what was commonly gueſs'd, of his being a FRIEND to the PRINCE of ORANGE, or of my Lord *Sunderland*. Sir *William* conjectur'd alſo rightly enough, that as my Lord *Salisbury* had been ſtruck out ſome Days before, upon having declar'd at Council that he would come there no more; ſo the King and his Miniſters might think, that upon Sir *William*'s having taken the ſame Reſolution, as to that and all publick Affairs, (tho ſignify'd only in private to his Majeſty, and with all the good Manners that could be) yet it would be better for the King's Affairs that Sir *William* ſhould be known to be put out of the Council, than to have quitted it of himſelf. Nor was this Reſolution of Sir *William* taken in any Heat or Raſhneſs, but upon the beſt Conſiderations and Knowledg he had gain'd, both of the World and of himſelf: For having long ſerv'd in *Courts* and *Publick Affairs*, he plainly diſcover'd that he was, at his Age, and in the preſent

preſent Conjunctures, fit for neither one nor t'other.

He found * the Arts of a Court were contrary to the Frankneſs and Openneſs of his Nature, and the Conſtraints of publick Buſineſs too great for the Liberty of his Humour and his Life. The common and proper Ends of both, are the Advancement of Men's Fortunes, and that he never minded; having as much as he needed, and which is more, as he deſir'd. The Talent of gaining Riches he ever deſpis'd; as obſerving it to belong to the moſt deſpiſable Men in other kinds: and he had the occaſions of it ſo often in his way, if he would have made uſe of them; that he grew to diſdain them, as a Man does Meat that he has always before him. He knew very well the Arts of a Court are, *to talk the preſent Language, to ſerve the preſent Turn*, and to *follow the preſent Humour of the Prince*, whatever it is; of all which he found himſelf ſo incapable, that he could not talk a *Language he did not mean, nor ſerve a Turn he did not like, nor follow any Man's Humour wholly, againſt his own*. Beſides, he had had, in twenty Years, Experience enough of the *Uncertainty* of Princes, the *Caprice* of *Fortune*, the *Corruption* of *Miniſters*, the *Violence* of *Factions*, the *Unſteddineſs* of *Counſels*, and the *Infidelity* of *Friends*; nor did he think the reſt of his Life enough to make any new Experiments.

As he never enter'd into publick Buſineſs by his own † choice or purſuit, but was always call'd into it by the King or his Miniſters, ſo he never made the common uſe of it, by ever asking either Mony, Lands, or Honour, of his Majeſty; tho he ‖ was often urged to it by his Friends, and

* *See his Memoirs*, Part III. p. 169.
† *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 122.
‖ *See his Letters*, Vol. I. p. 194, 344.

'invited by ſo great degrees of Confidence and 'Favour as he ſtood in with his Majeſty, both often and long. He never had his Heart ſet upon 'any thing in publick Affairs, but the Happineſs 'of his Country, and Greatneſs of the Crown; 'and in order to that, the Union of both, by which 'alone he thought both could be atchiev'd. When 'he fell firſt into a Deſpair of this, he fell firſt 'into a Diſtaſte of all publick Affairs; and this 'was nouriſh'd by a Courſe of Accidents and Turns 'of Court, and Perſonal Inconſtancies or Infidelities, 'which gave him *unexpreſſible Vexation and Trouble*: 'For he knew very well, that all the Safety of *Flanders* depended in the Union of his Majeſty with 'his Parliament, which might enable him to make 'ſuch a Figure in Chriſtendom as the Crown of '*England* had done, and *ought always to do*.'

That great Stateſman in his conſummate Wiſdom, conſider'd the World in the preſent Poſture of Affairs, both Abroad and at Home: 'I knew, '*ſays he* *, very well the *great* Deſigns of *France*, 'whereof the Plan was drawn by Cardinal RICHELIEU, for the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, and that 'part of *Germany* which lies on this ſide of the *Rhine*. How, upon this View, he had ſeiz'd *Lorrain*, and engag'd in a War with *Spain*. How he 'practis'd the *Dutch* into a Treaty, for the *Diviſion* of *Flanders* between them; till the States ſoon 'found the falſe Pace they had made, by an Agreement to ſhare with the *Lion*; who thereupon 'would be ſoon Maſter, both of the *Prey*, and of 'them. Hereupon, they broke off this Confederacy, quitted the *French* in the midſt of ſo great 'Succeſs, and had thereby almoſt occaſion'd the 'Ruin of the *French* Army at *Turlemont*. I knew 'by Tradition, from a noble Family, how that *Car-*

* *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 151. & ſeq.

'*dinal*

" *Anne* had ſent a private Emiſſary, to endeavour
" the ſame Meaſures with King CHARLES the Firſt;
" or, at leaſt, for his being *Paſſive* in their Conqueſt
" of *Flanders*. How that King had refus'd the firſt,
" and being preſs'd upon the other, had anſwer'd
" reſolutely, that he would never ſuffer the Conqueſt
" of *Flanders*; and if the *Freneh* attempted it, he
" would march himſelf in Perſon to defend it. Upon
" this Anſwer, the Cardinal reply'd to the Gentle-
" man that brought it, *L' a t'il dit? Par Dieu, il*
" *me le payera bien* [*Did he ſay ſo? by G—d I'll*
" *make him pay dear for it:*] and thereupon entred
" immediatly into Practices with ſome diſcontented
" Nobles of *Scotland*, then at *Paris*; ſent over two
" hundred Thouſand Piſtoles to others in that King-
" dom, and gave thereby a beginning to the firſt
" Troubles that were rais'd there. From which
" time, THE BUSINESS OF FRANCE *has ever*
" *been to foment all* DIVISIONS OF ENGLAND,
" whoſe Intereſt they ſaw would be ever to croſs
" their great Deſign. However, Cardinal MAZA-
" RIN, after having ſurmounted his own Dangers
" in *France*, and the Difficulties incident to a Mino-
" rity, purſu'd the Plan left him by his Predeceſſor;
" and by his Meaſures taken with CROMWELL,
" and the Aſſiſtance of an immortal Body of ſix
" Thouſand brave *Engliſh*, which were by Agree-
" ment to be continually recruited, he made ſuch
" a Progreſs in *Flanders*, that CROMWELL ſoon
" found the Ballance turn'd, and grown too heavy
" on the *French* ſide: Whereupon he diſpatch'd a
" Gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propoſe there
" a change of his Treaty with *France* into one with
" *Spain*, by which he would draw his Forces over
" into their Service, and make them ten Thouſand
" to be continually recruited; upon Condition, their
" firſt Action ſhould be to beſiege *Calais*, and when
" taken, to put it into his hands. The Gentle-
" man

man ſent upon this Errand was paſt the *Pyrenees*, when he was overtaken by the News of *Cromwell*'s Death: whereupon *Mazarin* having not only loſt his ſtrongeſt Support in *Flanders*, but obſerv'd how that Deſign would never be ſerv'd by any Meaſures he could take in *England*, however it ſhould be govern'd by the *moſt Legal* or *moſt Uſurp'd* Powers, he reſolv'd upon a Peace with *Spain*; and made it at the *Pyrenees*, againſt the general Senſe, both of the chief Perſons in the Court and Army, but particularly, againſt the Inſtances of Monſieur *Turenne*, who engag'd himſelf to conquer all that was left of *Flanders* in two Campaigns more: But ſome Domeſtick Reaſons prevail'd with the Cardinal, beſides his Age and great Infirmities, which ended his Life, not long after the Peace was made. The *preſent King*, left in full Peace with all his Neighbours, in the flower of his Youth, and inſtructed in the School of ſo able a Miniſter, began to purſue the great Deſign, by the three Paces moſt neceſſary to advance it; which were, The *wiſe Management of his Revenue*, and heaping up a Maſs of Treaſure: The Increaſe of his *Naval Force*, by building many great Ships, and buying others from the *Dutch*; and by the *Purchaſe* of *Dunkirk* in the Year 1662, without which he could not have aſpir'd to the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, or to his Greatneſs at Sea; having *neither Haven upon the Channel*. After this, *by fomenting* on both ſides the *Seeds of Diſſenſion between us and the* Dutch, which were ſprung from other cover'd Roots, he ſaw us engag'd in a War with *Holland* in 1665, and with ſuch *Heat* and *Succeſſes*, that the *Dutch* would ſoon have been forc'd to a Peace, had not *France* firſt aſſiſted them at Land againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and then declar'd War againſt us, and ſet out his Fleet for aſſiſting the *Dutch*. This made the War more equally ballanc'd, and there-

by

'by last; till *France taking Advantage at our Division*, 'invaded *Flanders*; and by a Surprize of the un-'prepar'd *Spaniards*, in two Campaigns carry'd the 'moſt conſiderable frontier Places on both ſides, as 'Douay, *Liſle*, *Tournay*, on the one ſide, *Charleroy*, 'and *Aeth* on the other; by which they left the 'reſt of *Flanders* at the mercy of another Campaign. 'The *Dutch* were alarm'd at theſe Succeſſes of ſo 'mighty a Neighbour, ſo near their own Doors; and 'we were ſpited at the *French* having declar'd War 'againſt us, in favour of *Holland*, contrary to our 'expectations; and both together contributed to 'the Peace at *Breda* in the end of the Year 1667, 'and to our Leagues with *Holland*, with the *Triple* 'Alliance in 1668, for Defence of the *Spaniſh Ne-*'*therlands*. Upon our Peace with *Holland*, *France* 'ſtop'd their Career in *Flanders*, and made Over-'tures of Peace with *Spain*; by the Offer of an *Al-*'*ternative*, either to retain their Conqueſts in *Flan-*'*ders*, or elſe the whole County of *Burgundy*. We 'and *Holland* forc'd *Spain* to accept one of them; 'and the *Spaniards* ſpited at this Hardſhip upon 'them, from Neighbours, who, they thought, had 'as much Intereſt as they to preſerve *Flanders*, choſe 'the worſt; which was, to leave the Frontier of '*Flanders* in the *French* Hands, on purpoſe to give 'us and *Holland* the greater Jealouſy of *France*, and 'in hopes thereby to ingage us all in a War with 'that Crown. And upon theſe Terms the Peace 'was made at *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1668. After this, '*France* turn'd all their Counſels to break the Mea-'ſures between us and *Holland*, which gave a ſtop 'to their great Deſign. The *Dutch* were *ſtanch*, 'but *we gave way by the Corruption of our Miniſters*, 'and the *French* Practices upon the Diſpoſitions of 'our Court; which, at length, engag'd us in a 'joint War of both Crowns upon *Holland* in 1672, 'to the Amazement of all Men, both Abroad and

'at

' at Home, and almoſt to the utter Ruin of that
' State; till the Empire and *Spain*, rous'd by the
' Danger of *Holland*, which muſt have ended in that
' of *Flanders*, and all the *German* Provinces on this
' ſide the *Rhine*, enter'd boldly into the War, for
' the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*; which gave them
' ſome Breath, and carry'd the Scene of the War
' into *Flanders* and *Germany*. At the ſame time
' the *Diſcontents of the People and Parliament at the*
' *War*, and the Neceſſity of declaring it againſt
' *Spain* as well as *Holland*, if we continu'd longer
' in it, prevail'd with the King to make a ſeparate
' Peace with *Holland* in 1673, and to offer his Media-
' tion to all the Parties engag'd in the War; which
' ended in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and at laſt in a
' Peace there, concluded in 1678: whereby a Fron-
' tier was left to the *Spaniſh-Netherlands* on the
' *Brabant* ſide, by the Reſtitution of *Aeth* and *Char-*
' *leroy*, to ſatisfy the *Dutch*. But all that remain'd
' on the ſide of *Flanders*, after the Peace of *Aix*, as
' *Cambray*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, with many others taken
' by *France* in the laſt War, were by this Treaty
' left in their Poſſeſſion; beſides great Pretences by
' *Dependencies*, both in *Flanders* and *Alſace*; ſo as
' *Flanders* was left at their mercy, whenever We
' or *Holland* ſhould abandon its Defence. And,
' finding both Nations, in general, but too ſenſible
' of our Intereſt on that ſide, the Council of *France*
' began *new Practices upon our Court*; wherein they
' were *encourag'd by our Factions*, and the Neceſſi-
' ties of Mony into which they had drawn the
' King. Theſe were the Progreſſes which *France*
' had made in their great Deſign, by *two Wars* and
' *two general Treaties of Peace*; whereof that at
' *Nimeguen* ſeem'd more victorious than their Arms
' had been: But they had made another, yet more
' important than either, by their Practices upon
' the Elector and Chapter of *Cologne*; having gain'd
' the

'the Majority of Voices there for the Succeſſion of 'Prince *William* of *Furſtemberg* to that Principality, 'whenever the preſent Elector ſhould fail; who is 'Old and Infirm, and has for ſome Years paſt de-'ceiv'd the World by living ſo long. Prince *Wil-'liam*, tho a *German*, yet having long *devoted* him-'ſelf *to the French Intereſts*, and been *Refuged* and '*Supported by that Crown*, againſt the Indignation 'and Revenge of the Emperor, is *as much a French-'man* as any Biſhop of that Kingdom; ſo as when-'ever he comes to the Electorate, *France* will be 'abſolute Maſter of that Principality; and thereby 'caſt *Shackles*, not only upon the other Princes of 'the *Rhine*, but upon *Holland* too, both by cutting 'off their Trade upon the *Rhine*, and by border-'ing upon their inland Provinces, which are moſt 'expos'd and hard to be defended. After this, *Hol-'land* muſt be left to take what Meaſures they can 'with *France*, and become at beſt a Maritime Pro-'vince to that Crown; tho, perhaps, under the 'Name of a *Free-State*, (for fear of Diſ-peopling 'their Country) but with ſuch *Dependance*, as will 'leave *France* the *Uſe*, both of their Ships and 'Mony, upon Occaſion, in other parts. When-'ever this happens, what Condition *England* will 'be left in, upon ſuch an Increaſe of the *French* 'Territory, and Land, as well as Naval-Power, is 'eaſy to conjecture, but *hard how it can be prevented*; '*otherwiſe than by our* VIGOROUS CONJUNC-'TION OF COUNSELS, AS WELL AS INTE-'RESTS with all the LATE CONFEDERATES; 'and by a FIRM UNION BETWEEN THE 'COURT AND THE NATION upon one com-'mon Bottom, both at Home and Abroad; and 'chiefly for the Preſervation of *Flanders* againſt the '*French* Deſigns. I eaſily diſcover'd how fit a Poſ-'ture we were in to engage in ſuch Reſolutions: 'The *Nation* divided *into two ſtrong Factions*, with

'the greateſt Heats and Animoſities, and ready to 'break out into Violence upon the firſt Occaſion. 'The Heads on both ſides deſiring it, as grown 'paſt all Temper or Compoſure. The King in-'volv'd in ſuch Neceſſities and Diſorders of his Re-'venue, as, if he could not hope Supplies from Parlia-'ments, would throw him upon ſeeking them from '*France*; which would end in ſuch Meaſures with 'that Crown, as would leave them *at liberty to* 'purſue their great Deſign by new Attempts upon 'their Neighbours; who, without the Support of '*England*, muſt give way, either by *weak Defences* 'or *ſubmiſſive Treaties*. Upon the Survey of all 'theſe Circumſtances, Conjunctures, and Diſpoſi-'tions, I concluded in cold Blood, that I could be 'of no further Uſe or Service to the *King* my Maſ-'ter, and my *Country*, *whoſe true Intereſts* I always 'thought *were the ſame*; and would be both in 'Danger when they came to be divided, and for 'that reaſon had ever endeavour'd the uniting 'them; and had compaſs'd it, if the *Paſſions of* 'ſome few Men had not lain *fatally in the way*, ſo 'as to raiſe Difficulties that I ſaw plainly were 'never to be ſurmounted. Therefore, upon the 'whole, I took that firm Reſolution in the end of 'the Year 1680, and the Interval between the '*Weſtminſter* and *Oxford* Parliaments, never to 'charge my ſelf more with any publick Employ-'ments; but retiring wholly to a private Life, in 'that poſture to take my Fortune with my Country, 'whatever it ſhould prove: Which as no Man can 'judg, in the variety of Accidents that attend Hu-'man Affairs, and the Chances of every Day, to 'which the greateſt Lives, as well as Actions are 'ſubject; ſo I ſhall not trouble my ſelf ſo much as 'to conjecture: *Fata viam invenient.*"

Thus Sir *William Temple* took his leave of thoſe *airy Viſions*, as he call'd them, which had ſo long buſied

buſied his Head about *mending the World*; and at the ſame time, of all *thoſe ſhining Toys or Follies that employ the Thoughts of Buſy Men*; *and turn'd his wholly to mend himſelf*; and, as far as conſiſts with a private Condition, ſtill purſuing that excellent Counſel of *Pythagoras*, That *we are, with all the Cares and Endeavours of our Lives, to* avoid Diſeaſes *in the* Body, Perturbations *in the* Mind, Luxury *in* Diet, Factions *in the* Houſe, *and* Seditions *in the* State.

Nothing is more common than for Men, who live in the *Splendor* and *Hurry* of Courts, ſometimes to wiſh for a *Retreat*, where they may eaſe themſelves of the Fatigue of *State* and *Buſineſs*; yet they ſeldom retire, but when they can no longer ſtay: ſo that the Contempt of the Court is, in moſt Men, an Artifice of *Self-Love*, which endeavours to alleviate the Vexation of being excluded, by undervaluing Greatneſs, and thoſe that are in Place. On the other hand, nothing is more difficult, for the generality of Men, who have liv'd in the Pomp of Courts, than to ſpend the Remainder of their Days in Privacy and Retirement: for few People have a ſufficient Fond in themſelves, to ſupply and fill up the Gap, which the want of Buſineſs leaves in their Minds. Neither of theſe Inconveniencies befel Sir *William Temple*: As his retiring from *Buſineſs* was *voluntary*, ſo his Contempt of *Greatneſs* was the Reſult of a thorow Knowledg of its *Emptineſs* and *Vanity*; a Strain of which appears through all his Works. He knew there is nothing at *Court* but a perpetual Exchange of *falſe Friendſhip*, *pretended Honeſty*, *ſeeming Confidence*, and *deſigning Gratitude*: So that a Man, who (as Sir *William* ever did) acts upon a *ſincere Bottom*, and gives *Realities* inſtead of *Shews*, profeſſes himſelf, and is accounted as great a *Bubble*, as one that ſhould give *good Money*, where *Counterfeit* paſſes for current Payment. He had, by long Ex-

perience, made a true Eſtimate of the Advantages of a private Life, above thoſe of a publick; and was thorowly convinc'd, that the Bleſſings of Innocence, Security, Meditation, good Air, Health, and ſound Sleeps, are infinitely preferable to the Splendor of Courts; conſidering the *ſlaviſh Attendances*, the *invidious Competitions*, *ſervile Flattery*, and the *mortal Diſappointments*, that go along with it. He ſet the Frowns of Princes, the Envy of thoſe that judg by Hearſay, and the innumerable Temptations, Vices, and Exceſſes of a Life of Pomp and Pleaſure, in ballance againſt the Smiles of bounteous Nature, the Diverſion of all healthful Exerciſes for the Body, and the ſolid and laſting Entertainment of the *Mind*: And concluded, that he that's a Slave in the Town, is a kind of petty Prince in the Country. In ſhort, he compar'd the Anxiety and Conſtraint of a Life ſpent in Formality and Tumult, with the Comfort and Delight of a Retreat with Competency and Freedom: And then caſting up his Account, he reſolv'd to take up with that Life which the greateſt and wiſeſt Men in the World have made choice of. Neither was Sir *William Temple* ſenſible of any *tedious Chaſm*, nor did Time fall heavy upon his hands in his Retreat: For he did not properly *retire* from, but rather return and fix to his proper Buſineſs. And as in the height of his publick Employments, he ſtill reſerv'd and allotted for his private Study all the Leiſure he could ſpare from the ſtrict Diſcharge of his Duty, ſo now he only exchang'd the Fatigue of the latter, with the innocent Entertainments of a Country-Life; dividing his Time between his *Books* and his *Garden*; the *Improvement* of his *Mind*, and the *Culture* of his *Plants*.

His excellent Compoſures are ſo well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, that as it would ſwell theſe Sheets beyond the intended Bulk, ſo it were ſuper-

ſuperfluous and needleſs to give a particular Account of them. I ſhall therefore content my ſelf with giving the Reader the *Titles* of them, with the *Time* and *Occaſion* of their *Publication*.

During his firſt Receſs * from publick Affairs, Sir *William Temple* wrote a Treatiſe, which was publiſh'd towards the latter end of the Year 1672, with the Title of OBSERVATIONS *upon the* UNITED PROVINCES *of the* NETHERLANDS; to which he alludes, in a Letter † to Monſieur *De Wicquefort*, a particular Friend of his, who afterwards tranſlated that very Treatiſe into *French*. *If ever*, ſays Sir *William* to him, *any favourable Accident* (*and this Age produces ſtrange ones enough*) *ſhould bring you hither, I would let you ſee that our Buildings are not altogether without Neatneſs: At leaſt I would make you confeſs, that the Fruits of my* Garden *have another Taſte than thoſe of my* Cloſet, *and will keep better than thoſe of my Embaſſies.*

Sir *William Temple* accounts for the *Occaſion* and *Deſign* of his writing this Treatiſe, in a *Preface* prefix'd to it; wherein he occaſionally laſhes the *Vices* and *Follies* of that Reign, which we have liv'd to ſee unfortunately reviv'd in another.

'Having lately ſeen (ſays Sir *William Temple*) the 'State of the *United Provinces*, after a prodigious 'Growth in Riches, Beauty, Extent of Commerce, 'and Number of Inhabitants, arriv'd, at length, 'to ſuch a height, (by the Strength of their 'Navies, their fortify'd Towns, and Standing-'Forces, with a conſtant Revenue, proportion'd 'to the Support of all this Greatneſs) as made 'them the Envy of ſome, the Fear of others, and 'the Wonder of all their Neighbours; We have, 'this Summer paſt, beheld the ſame State, in the

* *See above*, pag. 182.

† *See Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 316.

'midſt

midſt of great appearing Safety, Order, Strength, and Vigour, almoſt ruin'd and broken to pieces, in ſome few Days, and by very few Blows; and reduc'd in a manner to its firſt Principles of Weakneſs and Diſtreſs; expos'd, oppreſs'd, and very near at Mercy. Their Inland Provinces ſwallow'd up by an Invaſion, almoſt as ſudden, and unreſiſted as the Inundations to which the others are ſubject. And the Remainders of their State rather kept alive by Neglect, or Diſconcert of its Enemies, than by any Strength of Nature, or Endeavours at its own Recovery. Now, becauſe ſuch a Greatneſs, and ſuch a Fall of this State, ſeem Revolutions unparallel'd in any Story, and hardly conceiv'd, even by thoſe who have lately ſeen them; I thought it might be worth an idle Man's time, to give ſome account of the Riſe and Progreſs of this Commonwealth; the Cauſes of their Greatneſs; and the Steps towards their Fall: Which were all made by Motions, perhaps little taken notice of by common Eyes, and almoſt undiſcernable to any Man, that was not plac'd to the beſt Advantage, and ſomething concern'd, as well as much inclin'd, to obſerve them. The uſual Duty of Employments abroad, impoſed not only by Cuſtom, but by Orders of State, made it fit for me to prepare ſome formal Account of this Country and Government, after two Years Embaſſy, in the midſt of great Conjunctures and Negotiations among them. And ſuch a Revolution as has ſince happen'd there, tho it may have made theſe Diſcourſes little important to his Majeſty, or his Council; yet it will not have render'd them leſs agreeable to common Eyes, who, like Men that live near the Sea, will run out upon the Cliffs to gaze at it in a Storm, tho they would not look out of their Windows to ſee it in a Calm. Beſides, at a time, when the Actions of

this

'this Scene take up ſo generally the Eyes and Diſ-
'courſes of their Neighbours, and the Maps of
'their Country grow ſo much in requeſt; I thought
'a Map of their State and Government would not
'be unwelcome to the World, ſince it is full as
'neceſſary as the others, to underſtand the late
'Revolutions and Changes among them. And as
'no Man's Story can be well written till he is dead,
'ſo the Account of this State could not be well given
'till its Fall, which may juſtly be dated from the
'Events of laſt Summer, (whatever Fortunes may
'further attend them) ſince therein we have ſeen the
'ſudden and violent Diſſolution of that more Popu-
'lar Government, which had continu'd, and made ſo
'much noiſe, for above Twenty Years, in the World,
'without the Exerciſe, or Influence, of the Authority
'of the Princes of *Orange*; a Part ſo Eſſential in the
'firſt Conſtitutions of their State. Nor can I
'wholly loſe my Pains in this Adventure, when I
'ſhall gain the Eaſe of anſwering this way, at
'once, thoſe many Queſtions I have lately been us'd
'to, upon this occaſion: Which made me firſt ob-
'ſerve, and wonder, how ignorant we were, gene-
'rally, in the Affairs and Conſtitutions of a Coun-
'try, ſo much in our Eye, the common Road of
'our Travels, as well as Subject of our Talk; and
'which we have been of late, not only curious, but
'concern'd to know. I am very ſenſible, how ill
'a Trade it is to write, where much is ventur'd,
'and little can be gain'd; ſince whoever does it ill,
'is ſure of Contempt; and the juſtlieſt that can
'be, when no Man provokes him to diſcover his
'own Follies, or to trouble the World: If he
'writes well, he raiſes the Envy of thoſe Wits that
'are poſſeſs'd of the Vogue, and are jealous of their
'Preferment there, as if it were in Love, or in
'State; and have found, that the neareſt way to
'their own Reputation lies, right or wrong, by

'the

'the Deriſion of other Men. But, however, I am 'not in Pain; for 'tis the Affectation of Praiſe 'that makes the Fear of Reproach: and I write 'without other Deſign, than of entertaining very 'idle Men; and, among them, my ſelf. For I 'muſt confeſs, that being wholly uſeleſs to the Pub-'lick, and unacquainted with the Cares of in-'creaſing Riches, (which buſy the World) being 'grown cold to the Pleaſures of younger or livelier 'Men; and having ended the Entertainments of 'Building and Planting, (which uſe to ſucceed 'them;) finding little Taſte in common Conver-'ſation, and Trouble in much Reading, from the 'Care of my Eyes, (ſince an Illneſs contracted by 'many unneceſſary Diligences in my Employments 'abroad) there can hardly be found an idler Man 'than I; nor conſequently, one more excuſable, for 'giving way to ſuch Amuſements as this: Having 'nothing to do but to enjoy the Eaſe of a private 'Life and Fortune, which, as I know no Man 'envies, ſo (I thank God) no Man can reproach. 'I am not ignorant, that the Vein of Reading 'never ran lower than in this Age; and ſeldom 'goes farther than the Deſign of raiſing a Stock to 'furniſh ſome Calling or Converſation. The De-'ſire of Knowledg being either laugh'd out of 'Doors, by the *Wit* that pleaſes the Age, or beaten 'out by Intereſt that ſo much poſſeſſes it: And the 'Amuſement of Books, giving way to the Liber-'ties or *Refinements* of *Pleaſure*, that were formerly 'leſs known, or leſs avow'd, than now. Yet ſome 'there will always be found in the World, who 'ask no more at their idle Hours, than to forget 'themſelves: and whether that be brought about 'by Drink or Play, by Love or Buſineſs, or by ſome 'Diverſions, as idle as this, 'tis all a caſe. Be-'ſides, it may poſſibly fall out, at one time or 'other, that ſome *Prince*, or great *Miniſter*, may

'not

'not be ill pleas'd in theſe kind of *Memorials*, (upon 'ſuch a Subject) to trace the Steps of Trade and 'Riches, of Order and Power in a State, and thoſe 'likewiſe of *weak*, or *violent Counſels*; of *corrupt*, 'or *ill*, *Conduct*; of *Faction* or *Obſtinacy*, *which de-'cay and diſſolve the firmeſt Governments*: That ſo, 'by Reflections upon foreign Events, they may 'provide the better and the earlier againſt thoſe 'at home; and raiſe their own Honour and Hap-'pineſs, by equal Degrees with the *Proſperity* and '*Safety* of the *Nations* they govern. For, under 'Favour of thoſe who would paſs for *Wits* in our 'Age, by ſaying things, which *David* tells us, '*The Fool ſaid in his Heart*: and ſet up with bring-'ing thoſe Wares to Market, which (GOD knows) 'have been always in the World, tho kept up in 'Corners; becauſe they us'd to mark their Owners, 'in former Ages, with the names of *Buffoons*, *Pro-'fane*, or *Impudent Men*; who deride all *Form* and '*Order*, as well as *Piety* and *Truth*; and, under the 'Notion of *Fopperies*, endeavour to diſſolve the very 'Bonds of all *Civil Society*: tho by the Favour and 'Protection thereof, they themſelves enjoy ſo much '*greater Proportions* of *Wealth*, and of *Pleaſures*, than 'would fall to their ſhare, if all lay in common, 'as they ſeem to deſign, (for then ſuch Poſſeſſions 'would belong of Right to the ſtrongeſt and braveſt 'among us:) Under favour of ſuch Men, I believe 'it will be found, at one time or other, by all who 'ſhall try, that whilſt Human Nature continues 'what it is, the ſame Orders in State, the ſame 'Diſcipline in Armies, the ſame *Reverence* for 'Things Sacred, and Reſpect of Civil *Inſtitutions*; 'the ſame Virtues and Diſpoſitions of Princes and 'Magiſtrates, deriv'd by Intereſt, or Imitation, 'into the Cuſtoms and Humours of the People, 'will ever have the ſame Effects upon the Strength 'and Greatneſs of all Governments; and upon the

" Honour and Authority of thoſe that rule, as well " as the Happineſs and Safety of thoſe that obey."

In the Year 1679. Sir *William Temple* publiſh'd, under the Title of MISCELLANEA, ſeveral Tracts he had written before. The Occaſion of this Publication has already * been accounted for: And as for the time in which they were compos'd; I. The SURVEY *of the Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the* Empire, Sweden, *&c.* was written in the Year 1671. II. The ESSAY *on the Original and Nature of* GOVERNMENT, in 1672. III. The ESSAY *upon the Advancement of* TRADE *in* Ireland, is dated from *Dublin, July* 22. 1673. and addreſs'd to the Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom. IV. The next ESSAY *on the Conjuncture of Affairs, was written to the Duke of* Ormond, *in* October 1673. upon his Grace's deſiring Sir *William Temple* to give him his Opinion what was to be done in that Conjuncture. V. The fifth ESSAY *was written from* Sheen *the 29th of* January 1674. *to the Counteſs of* Eſſex, *upon her Grief occaſion'd by the Loſs of her only Daughter.* And the VIth ESSAY *upon the Cure of the* GOUT *by* Moxa, *was written to Monſieur* De Zulichem, and is dated from *Nimeguen*, June 18. 1677.

Theſe Eſſays having been receiv'd with general Applauſe, and born ſeveral Impreſſions, Sir *William* publiſh'd, about ſeven Years after, a *Second Part* of his MISCELLANEA, which is thus inſcrib'd to the Univerſity of *Cambridge.*

Almæ Matri, Academiæ Cantabrigienſi, *has qualeſcumque Nugas, at rei Literariæ non alienas D. D. Dd.* Alumnus *olim & ſemper Obſervantiſſimus*, W. Temple.

* *See above*, p. 330.

And

And contains four ESSAYS. I. *Upon Antient and Modern Learning.* II. *Upon the Gardens of* Epicurus. III. *Upon Heroick Virtue.* IV. *Upon Poetry.*

In the ESSAY *upon the Gardens of* Epicurus, and upon Gardening in general, which was written in the Year 1685. Sir *William* gives us a genuine Account of his preſent Condition and Thoughts: 'I 'may perhaps be allow'd, * *ſays he*, to know ſome-'thing of this Trade, ſince I have ſo long allow'd 'my ſelf to be good for nothing elſe; which few 'Men will do, or enjoy their Gardens, without 'often looking abroad, to ſee how other Matters 'play, what Motions in the State, and what Invi-'tations they may hope for into other Scenes. For 'my own part, as the Country Life, and this part 'of it more particularly, were the Inclination of 'my Youth it ſelf, ſo they are the Pleaſure of my 'Age; and I can truly ſay, that among many great 'Employments that have fallen to my ſhare, I 'have never ask'd, or ſought for any one of them, 'but often endeavour'd to eſcape from them, into 'the Eaſe and Freedom of a private Scene; where 'a Man may go his own way, and his own Pace, in 'the common Paths or Circles of Life.

Inter cuncta leges & percunctabere Doctos,
Quâ ratione queas traducere leniter Ævum;
Quid Curas minuat; quid te tibi reddat amicum;
Quid purè tranquillet, honos an dulce Lucellum,
An ſecretum Iter, & fallentis Semita Vitæ.

'But above all, the Learned read and ask,
'By what means you may gently paſs your Age?
'What leſſens Care? what makes thee thine own (Friend?
'What truly calms the Mind, Honour or Wealth?
'Or elſe a private Path of ſtealing Life?

* *Miſcellanea*, Part II. p. 139. & ſeq.

'These are Questions that a Man ought at least 'to ask himself, whether he asks others or no; and 'to chuse his Course of Life rather by his own Humour and Temper, than by common Accidents, 'or Advice of Friends; at least if the *Spanish* Proverb be true, *That a Fool knows more in his own 'House, than a wise Man in another's*—— The measure of chusing well, is, Whether a Man likes 'what he has chosen? Which, I thank God, has befallen me: and tho among the Follies of my Life, 'Building and Planting have not been the least, and 'have cost me more than I have the Confidence to 'own; yet they have been fully recompens'd by 'the Sweetness and Satisfaction of this Retreat; 'where, since my Resolution taken, of never entring 'again into any publick Employments, I have pass'd 'five Years without ever going once to Town, tho 'I am almost in sight of it, and have a House there 'always ready to receive me. Nor has this been 'any sort of Affectation, as some have thought it, 'but a mere want of Desire or Humour to make so 'small a Remove.'

In this Essay, Sir *William* boasts of having had the *Honour* * *of bringing over four sorts of Grapes into* England: And both there, and in several other parts of his Writings, mentions his *House* and *Gardens* at *Sheen*; which being, at present, but inconsiderable, in comparison of several modern Country Seats, some have been apt to censure his taking notice of them as a piece of *vain Ostentation*. But the Example of *Montaigne*, and several other great Men, is sufficient to bear him out: and besides, it must be observ'd, that both *Gardening* and *Building* have been vastly improv'd in *England*, since the Writing of that *Essay*.

* Ubi supra, p. 121.

In

In the Spring of the Year 1683, Sir *William Temple*, in compliance to his Son's desire, began to write MEMOIRS * of *what had pass'd in his publick Employments, especially those Abroad, which reach'd from the Year* 1665, *to* 1678; *and ran through the most important foreign Negotiations of the Crown, with great Connexion of Affairs at Home, during this Period, and the Revolutions it produc'd.* The *first Part* of his *Memoirs* began with his Journey to *Munster*, contain'd chiefly his Negotiation of the *Triple Alliance*, and ended with his first Retirement from all Publick Business in the Year 1671, which was soon follow'd by the second *Dutch* War. He began the second Part with the Approaches of the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, in 1673, and concluded it with his being recall'd from *Holland* in *February* 1678-9, after the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; in which Negotiation he acted the principal Part, as one of the *English Mediators*. The *Third Part*, containing what pass'd from the Peace concluded in 1679, to the time of the Author's Retirement, was *written for the Satisfaction of his Friends, upon the Grounds of his Resolution, never to meddle again with Publick Affairs, from* February 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

As Sir *William* intended those *Memoirs* chiefly for his *Son's Use*, so *he desir'd no other might be made of them, during his Life*. But in the Year 1689. the *Second Part* was first printed for *Richard Chiswell*, with the Title of MEMOIRS *of what pass'd in Christendom from the War begun in* 1672, *to the Peace concluded* 1679. Some pretend † *they were sent into the World without the Author's privity*: But others

* *See his Letter to his Son, prefix'd to the Second Part of his Memoirs.*

† *See Dr.* Swift's *Preface to the Third Part of Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, p. vi. *Which is confirm'd by the Author's own Words, in his Answer to* Du Cros. *See* infra.

are

are of Opinion, that Sir *William*, at leaſt, connivʼd at their appearing Abroad. Be that as it will, the *Publiſher* tells the Reader, *he obtainʼd thoſe Papers from a Perſon, to whom he muſt never reſtore them again; and the Author had not inquirʼd after them. I muſt needs confeſs*, continues the Publiſher, *ʼtis but too plain by the Epiſtle, that he intended they ſhould not be publick during his Life; but tho I have as great a reſpect for him as any Man, yet I could not be of his mind in this. I think I ſhould do the World wrong, to conceal any longer a Treatiſe of ſo much Profit and Pleaſure to all that read it; and I hope I ſhall not be thought to do the Author any, in publiſhing it, ſince the Charge of not doing it was not given to me. I think likewiſe, that if any of his Friends can obtain of him the* First *and* Third *Parts of theſe* Memoirs *that are mention'd in them, they will do the Publick a great piece of Service*, &c. What ſtrengthens the Conjecture of Sir *William*ʼs conniving at this *Publication*, is, that it does not appear he ever diſown'd it, or ſo much as complain'd of it.

The *Firſt Part* of Sir *William*ʼs *Memoirs* were never printed; and Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, who publiſh'd the *Third Part*, and ſeveral other Writings of this Author, tells us *, *Sir* William Temple *often aſſur'd him, he had burnt thoſe* Memoirs; *and for that reaſon was content his* Letters, *during his Embaſſies at the* Hague *and* Aix-la-Chapelle, *(he might have added* Munſter) *ſhould be printed after his Death; in ſome manner to ſupply that Loſs. What it was*, continues Dr. *Swift*, *that mov'd Sir* William Temple *to burn thoſe firſt* Memoirs, *may, perhaps, be conjectur'd from ſome Paſſages in the* Second Part, *formerly printed. In one place the Author has theſe words:* My Lord *Arlington*, who made ſo great a Figure in the for-

* Ubi ſupra, p. xi.

† *See the Second Part of Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, p. 200.

mer

ther Part of theſe *Memoirs*, was now grown out of all Credit, *&c. In other parts he tells us, that Lord was of the Miniſtry that broke the* Triple League; *adviſ'd the* Dutch *War, and* French *Alliance; and, in ſhort, was at the Bottom of all thoſe* ruinous Meaſures *which the Court of* England *was then taking: So that, as I have been told from a good Hand, and as it ſeems very probable, he could not think that Lord a Perſon fit to be celebrated for his Part, in forwarding that famous League, while he was Secretary of State, who had made ſuch Counterpaces to deſtroy it.*

The *Third Part* of Sir *William Temple*'s *Memoirs* was not made publick, till many Years after the Author's Death, *viz.* in the Year 1709: The Reaſon of which is hinted at in the *Preface* prefix'd to them. *It was*, ſays the Publiſher, *perfectly in compliance to ſome Perſons, for whoſe Opinion I have great Deference, that I ſo long with-held the Publication of the following Papers. They ſeem'd to think, that the freedom of Paſſages in theſe Memoirs, might give Offence to ſeveral who were ſtill alive; and whoſe part in thoſe Affairs which are here related, could not be tranſmitted to Poſterity, with any Advantage to their Reputation. But whether this Objection be in it ſelf of much weight, may perhaps be diſputed; at leaſt, it ſhould have little with me, who am under no Reſtraint in that Particular; ſince I am not of an Age to remember thoſe Tranſactions, nor had any Acquaintance with thoſe Perſons, whoſe Counſels or Proceedings are condemn'd, and who are all of them now Dead.* One of the Perſons, in compliance to whom Dr. *Swift* forbore ſo long the printing of the *Third Part* of Sir *William*'s *Memoirs*, was undoubtedly the Lady *Chifford, the Author's Siſter*; who took that *Publication* ſo ill at his Hands, that ſhe publiſh'd an *Advertiſement* againſt it. Dr. *Swift* did not think fit to vindicate himſelf in Print: which, together with his *natural Diſingenuity and Prevarication*, too evidently manifeſted in his late Temporizing

and interchangeable Fawning upon, or Aſperſing Great Men; gives but too juſt ground to believe, that in order to curry Favour with thoſe in Power, he may have *ſuppreſs'd, alter'd, or interpolated* ſome Paſſages in thoſe *Memoirs*.

That I may not be thought to paſs too hard a Cenſure upon the *Doctor*, I beg leave to tranſcribe the following Paragraph out of his *Preface* before * quoted: *But*, ſays he, *as this Author is very free in expoſing the* Weakneſs *and* Corruptions *of* ill Miniſters, *ſo he is as ready to commend the* Abilities *and* Virtue *of others, as may be obſerv'd from ſeveral Paſſages of theſe Memoirs; particularly of the late Earl of* Sunderland, *with whom the Author continu'd in the moſt intimate Friendſhip to his Death; and who was Father of that* moſt learned and excellent Lord, now Secretary of State: *as likewiſe of the preſent Earl of* Rocheſter, *and of the Earl of* Godolphin, *now* Lord Treaſurer, *repreſented by this impartial Author*, as a Perſon, *at that time*, deſervedly intruſted with ſo great a Part in the Prime Miniſtry; an Office he *now* executes *again*, with *ſuch* univerſal Applauſe, *ſo much to* the Queen's Honour, *and his own; and* to the Advantage of his Country, *as well as* of the whole Confederacy. Now I muſt deſire the Readers to try, whether they can reconcile theſe *great Praiſes* which Dr. *Swift* beſtow'd, in the Year 1709, on the Earls of *Godolphin* and *Sunderland*, with what he has the Face to ſay in his Libels; and to own *in his Burleſque* Epiſtle to the preſent *Lord Treaſurer*, printed in 1713. that he *libell'd all the Junto round?* For, 'tis well known, thoſe two noble Peers were the chief Members of that *excellent Miniſtry*, which their Enemies invidiouſly call *Junto*. Is not this *flagrant and ſhameleſs Prevarication?*

* *To Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part III.

To

To proceed: In the Year 1693, Sir *William Temple* publiſh'd *an* Anſwer * *to a ſcurrilous Pamphlet, lately printed, intituled, A Letter from Mr.* Du-Cros *to the Lord* ———. This *Du-Cros* (whom we had occaſion to mention before, *p.* 305.) bore, very impatiently, the Character Sir *William* had given of him, in the Second Part of his *Memoirs*, (*p.* 335.) *viz.* 'That he was formerly a *French* Monk, who 'ſome time ſince had left his *Frock* for a *Petticoat*; 'and inſinuated himſelf ſo far in the *Swediſh* Court, 'as to procure a Commiſſion (or Credence at leaſt) 'for a certain petty Agency in *England*: And that 'at *London* he had devoted himſelf wholly to Mon-'ſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, tho pretend-'ing to purſue the Intereſts of *Sweden*.' And thereupon he wrote, in *French*, a Pamphlet full of Invectives and ſcurrilous Reflections againſt Sir *William Temple*, whom he tax'd with *Pride*; and that he *fancied himſelf the wiſeſt and ableſt Politician of his Age*. In the fifth Page, he condeſcends to give him wholeſom Advice, and ſets him Copies to write after. 'To this purpoſe he recommends to his 'peruſal the *Memoirs of* Villeroy, *the Negotiations* 'of Jeanin, *and the Letters of Cardinal* Doſſat; *in all* 'which there reigns a Spirit of Sincerity and Modeſty.' Sir *William Temple* anſwer'd to this, 'That he never 'preſum'd to ſet himſelf in competition with any 'of thoſe illuſtrious Perſons: That he was no 'ſtranger to their Merits or Character; but was 'afraid that Monſieur *Du-Cros* had propos'd ſome 'Models to him, which he never intended to fol-'low himſelf. That 'twas not Sir *William Temple*'s 'Bookſeller that call'd him *one of the greateſt Men* 'of this Age, as Monſieur *Du-Cros* falſly inſinuated, 'p. 5. but a Reverend Prelate of our Church, who

* *Printed for* Randal Taylor, *and containing only* 48 *Pages in* Octavo.

'publiſh'd the *Memoirs* without the Author's Conſent or Privity; and who, in his Advertiſement 'to the Reader, does not ſtile him, *Un des Grands Hommes de ce Siecle*, as Monſieur *Du Cros* malicioufly had printed it, but only *an Ornament to Learning and to his Country.*' After this, Sir *William Temple*, with a great deal of good Humour, turn'd into *Pleaſantry* and *Jeſt* the *invidious Calumnies* of his *ungenerous Adverſary*: but with equal Judgment, beſtows a ſerious Anſwer upon the following *heinous Accuſation*. *'Tis true*, ſays Monſieur *Du Cros*, p. 14. *that Sir* William Temple *has glitter'd for ſome time, but then he borrow'd all his Luſtre principally from the Protection of a certain Nobleman, whom at laſt he betray'd, and of whom he makes inſolent mention in his Memoirs, and that with the blackeſt Ingratitude that may be.* To which Sir *William* returns this Anſwer: 'This is a very ſevere 'Charge, if it could be made out: But neither did 'Sir *William Temple* derive all his Luſtre from my 'Lord *Arlington*, nor does he treat him inſolently 'any where in his *Memoirs*. As ſoon as that Lord 'forſook his Maſter's and the Kingdom's real Intereſts, *to cultivate the growing Power of a neighbouring 'Nation*, Sir *William Temple* thought it high time 'to *leave* him; but it never enter'd ſo much as 'into his Thoughts to *betray* him.' *After this*, continues *Du Cros*, *he* (meaning Sir *William*) *advanc'd himſelf by the Patronage of ſome other Perſons; to whoſe Service he intirely devoted himſelf, to the Prejudice of his Duty: and ſo well did he inſinuate himſelf into their Confidence and good Graces, the Poſt he was in giving him the Privilege to have a frequent Acceſs to their Perſons, that he was in a Capacity to have render'd very conſiderable Services both to the King his Maſter, and to his Country, if he had made the beſt uſe of that Advantage.* 'If Sir *William Temple*, 'ſays the Anſwer, ever fail'd of doing the beſt Offices

'he

'he could for his King and Country, it might, 'perhaps, proceed from want of better Informa- 'tion, but his Duty and Affection were never in 'fault. This he thinks a ſufficient Reply to this 'ill-grounded Calumny; for he never dedicated 'himſelf ſo intirely to the Service of other Perſons, '(Monſieur *Du Cros* muſt here mean the Prince of '*Orange*) as to make the leaſt Infringement of his 'Allegiance. And this will notoriouſly appear by 'ſeveral Paſſages in the *Memoirs*, but particularly 'p. 153. where Sir *William Temple* gives an Ac- 'count of a large Converſation between the Prince 'of *Orange* and himſelf in the Gardens at * *Hon- 'ſlaerdyke*. —What could Monſieur *Du-Cros* himſelf 'have done more in ſuch a Station? Here was not 'the leaſt Injury deſign'd to the late King: and as 'for the other part of Sir *William Temple*'s Diſcourſe, 'his Obligations as well as Ties of Friendſhip to the 'Prince, neceſſitated him to give him a faithful Re- 'preſentation of Affairs in *England*. —After all, an '*implicit blind Obedience* may do well in *France*, or 'under *a Deſpotick Climate*; but *all the Application 'in the World will never bring it to perfection in* Eng- 'land.' What Sir *William* ſays towards the Con- cluſion, about *Du-Cros* being devoted to the *French* Ambaſſador, and the Diſpatch he brought from *London* to the *Hague*, is very remarkable. 'At 'laſt, *ſays he*, Monſieur *Du-Cros* owns himſelf to 'be devoted to Monſieur *Barillon*; however, to 'mollify it ſomewhat, he pretends that he never 'made thoſe Advances till that Ambaſſador cultiva- 'ted the Intereſts of his Maſter (the Duke of *Get- 'torp*) and of *Sweden*. A miſerable Evaſion! For 'how perfidiouſly the Miniſters of that Crown have 'all along dealt with their Allies, let *Candy* and '*Meſſina* proclaim to the World. *Their Friendſhip*

* *See above*, p. 240.

'has been *fatal to all that ever depended upon it*, as 'the Hiſtories of the laſt Times will evidently 'ſhew: and tho they pretended never ſo cordially 'to eſpouſe the Quarrels of their Confederates, yet 'they ſeldom ſcrupled to abandon their Intereſts 'when it made never ſo little for their Advantage 'to do it. —Perhaps 'tis a great deal of Pity, as 'he ſays; but, by his Favour, 'tis no Wonder at all, 'eſpecially conſidering the Conſtitution of our 'Court at that Juncture, that *when they were to play 'any private Game, they never thought it worth their 'while to acquaint Sir* William Temple *with their In-'trigues.* Nor does he envy the good Fortune of 'Monſieur *Du-Cros* for being made a Party in 'them.' I thought it not amiſs to quote theſe Paſſages out of Sir *William Temple*'s *Anſwer*, becauſe they ſerve to illuſtrate both his *Life* and *Character*.

Not long after, Sir *William Temple* was attack'd by more formidable Adverſaries. He could not, it ſeems, without * Indignation, read either the *Panegyrick of Modern Learning and Knowledg, in compariſon of the Antient*, with which Dr. *Burnet* ended his learned Treatiſe of the *Theory of the Earth*; or, Monſieur *De Fontenelle*'s giving the *French* Academy the Preference before the Antients, in *Poetry* and *Oratory*, as well as in *Philoſophy* and *Mathematicks*, in a Diſcourſe annex'd to his *Paſtorals*. And thereupon Sir *William* wrote the *Eſſay upon Antient and Modern Learning*, before mention'd, wherein he oppos'd theſe *Modern Pretences*, and ſet up the *Excellency of Antient Learning*. On the other hand, Monſieur *Perrault*, of the *French* Academy, was ſtill warmer and bolder than Monſieur *De Fontenelle*, in his Patronage of the *Moderns*; preferring them before the *Antients* in *Painting* and *Architecture*, as well

* *Eſſay on Antient and Modern Learning*, p. 2, 3.

as

as *Oratory* and *Poetry*; and ſetting up Mr. *Boſſuet*, Biſhop of *Meaux*, againſt *Pericles* and *Thucydides*; Mr. *Flechier*, Biſhop of *Niſmes*, againſt *Iſocrates*; Father *Bourdaloue* againſt *Lyſias*; *Balzac* againſt *Cicero*; *Voiture* againſt *Pliny*; and *Corneille* and *Moliere* againſt the antient Dramatick *Poets*. This Controverſy making a great Noiſe in the Learned World, Mr. *William Wotton*, B. D. (then) Chaplain to the Earl of *Nottingham*, ſtept in as a MEDIATOR between *the ableſt Men of the two oppoſite Parties*, Sir *William Temple* and Monſieur *Perrault*; and in a Treatiſe, entituled, REFLECTIONS *upon Antient and Modern Learning*, firſt publiſh'd in *June* 1694. endeavour'd, impartially, to ſtate the *Boundaries* of each; *and to give* * *every ſide its juſt due*, by relating and comparing what theſe *two elegant Advocates had ſeverally alledg'd for their reſpective Hypotheſes*.

The general Propoſition which Sir *William Temple* endeavours to prove in his *Eſſay*, is this; 'That 'if we reflect upon the Advantages which the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* had, to improve themſelves in Arts and Sciences, above what the Moderns can pretend to; and upon that natural 'Force of Genius, ſo diſcernable in the earlieſt 'Writers, whoſe Books are ſtill extant, which has 'not been equal'd in any Perſons that have ſet up 'for Promoters of Knowledg in theſe latter Ages; 'and compare the actual Performances of them 'both together: we ought in juſtice to conclude, 'that *the Learning of the preſent Age is only a faint imperfect Copy from the Knowledg of former Times*; 'ſuch as could be taken from thoſe ſcatter'd Fragments which were ſav'd out of the general Shipwreck.' On the other hand, Mr. *Wotton* pre-

* *See Mr.* Wotton's *Preface to his* Reflections *on Antient and Modern Learning.*

tends,

tends *, 'That Sir *William Temple* confounds two 'very different Things, or Queſtions, together; 'namely, *Who were the greateſt Men, the Antients, 'or the Moderns?* and, *Who have carried their En- 'quiries furtheſt?* The firſt, *continues he*, is a very 'proper Queſtion for a Declamation, tho not ſo 'proper for a Diſcourſe, wherein Men are ſuppos'd 'to reaſon ſeverely; becauſe, for want of *Medium* 'whereon to found an Argument, it cannot eaſily be 'decided. For tho there be no ſurer way of judging 'of the comparative Force of the Genius's of ſe- 'veral Men, than by examining the reſpective Beau- 'ty or Subtilty of their Performances; yet the good 'Fortune of appearing firſt, added to the Misfor- 'tune of wanting a Guide, gives the firſt Comers 'ſo great an Advantage; that tho, for inſtance, the '*Fairy Queen*, or *Paradiſe Loſt*, may be thought by 'ſome to be better Poems than the *Ilias*, yet the 'ſame Perſons will not ſay, but that *Homer* was a 'greater Genius than either *Spencer* or *Milton*. Be- 'ſides, when Men judg of the Greatneſs of an Inven- 'tor's Genius barely by the Subtilty and Curioſity 'of his Inventions, they may be very liable to 'Miſtakes in their Judgments, unleſs they knew and 'were able to judg of the Eaſineſs or Difficulty of 'thoſe Methods or Ratiocinations, by which theſe 'Men arriv'd at, and perfected their Inventions; 'which, with due Allowances, is applicable to any 'Performances in Matters of Learning. —It will, 'however, be ſome Satisfaction to thoſe who are con- 'cern'd for the Glory of the Age in which they live, 'if it can be prov'd, *Firſt*, That ſo great Diſcoveries 'and Improvements have been made in real and 'uſeful Knowledg, that there is no probability 'that the World decays in Vigour and Strength; 'if (according to Sir *William Temple's* Hypotheſis)

* *See his Reflections*, p. 7. & ſeq. *Firſt Edition of* 1694.

'we

'we take our Eſtimate from the meaſure of thoſe 'Men's Parts, who have made theſe Advancements 'in theſe later Years; eſpecially if it ſhould be 'found, that the Antients took a great deal of 'Pains upon theſe very Subjects, and had able Maſ-'ters to inſtruct them. *Secondly*, That there are 'other curious and uſeful Parts of Knowledg, where-'in the Antients had equal Opportunities of ad-'vancing and purſuing their Inquiries with as much 'Facility as the Moderns, which were either ſlightly 'paſs'd over, or wholly neglected. And, *laſtly*, 'That by ſome great and happy Inventions, wholly 'unknown to former Ages, new and ſpacious Fields 'of Knowledg have been diſcover'd, and, purſuant 'to thoſe Diſcoveries, have been view'd and ſearch'd 'into with all the Care and Exactneſs which ſuch 'noble Theories requir'd. If theſe three things 'ſhould be done, both Queſtions would be at once 'reſolv'd, and Sir *William Temple* would ſee that 'the Moderns have done ſomething more than to 'copy from their Teachers, and that there is no 'Neceſſity of making all thoſe *melancholy Reflections* 'upon * *the Sufficiency and Ignorance of the preſent* '*Age*; which he, mov'd with a juſt Reſentment and 'Indignation, has thought fit to beſtow upon them'.

How far theſe things can, or cannot be prov'd, Mr. *Wotton* makes it his Buſineſs to inquire: And having conſider'd the Excellencies of the Antients and Moderns, in relation to *Moral and Political Knowledg*, *Eloquence*, *Poeſy*, *Grammar*, *Architecture*, *Statuary*, and *Painting*; owns, † That the generality of the Learned have given the *Antients* the Preference in thoſe Arts and Sciences: But for the Precedency in thoſe parts of Learning which ſtill remain to be inquir'd into, among which he reckons

* *Pag.* 5, 55, 56. *of Sir* W. Temple's *Eſſay.*

† *Wotton*, ubi ſupra, *p.* 77. *1ſt. Edit.* 1694.

Mathe-

Mathematical and *Phyſical Sciences*, in their largeſt extent, the *Moderns* have put in their Claim with great Briskneſs. After this, he gives us * a ſhort Account of the Hiſtory of Learning, as Sir *William Temple* had deduc'd it in his *Eſſay* from its moſt antient beginning; and then examining his Scheme ſtep by ſtep, raiſes many Exceptions againſt it, and yet more againſt the Concluſions which Sir *William* draws from it. Mr. *Wotton* having gone through the *Parallel* he propos'd at firſt to make of the Antients and Moderns, cloſes † all with Sir *William Temple*'s words ‖ a little alter'd, *viz.* 'Tho *Thales*, 'Pythagoras, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Ariſto-* 'tle and *Epicurus*, may be reckon'd amongſt the 'firſt mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our 'World; and tho they made great Progreſſes in the 'ſeveral Empires of Science, yet not ſo great in 'very many Parts, as their Succeſſors have ſince been 'able to reach. Theſe have pretended to much 'more than barely to learn what the others taught, 'or to remember what they invented; and being 'able to compaſs that it ſelf, have ſet up for Au-'thors upon their own Stocks; and not contenting 'themſelves only with commenting upon thoſe 'Texts, have both copied after former Originals 'already ſet them, and have added Originals of 'their own, in many things of a much greater Va-'lue.' After this, Mr. *Wotton* examines, and endeavours to confute the *Reaſons of the Decay of Modern Learning*, aſſigned by Sir *William Temple*: 'Tho, 'ſays he, having ſufficiently prov'd that there has 'not been ſuch a Fall in Modern Learning, as Sir 'William *Temple* ſuppoſes; nay, even that compa-'ratively ſpeaking, the Extent of Knowledg is, 'at this time, vaſtly greater than it was in former

* *Id. Ibid.* p. 88. *Firſt Edit.* † *Ibid.* p. 341. *Firſt Edit.*
‖ *Eſſay before quoted*, p. 30. *or* 28. *of the Fourth Edition.*

'Ages;

'Ages; it may ſeem a needleſs thing to examine 'thoſe Reaſons which he alledges, of the Decreaſe of 'that which, in the groſs, has ſuffer'd no decay.'

'Tis plain from all this, that Mr. *Wotton* ſoon forgot the part he pretended to act; and that having ſet up for a *Mediator* in his *Preface*, he appear'd as Sir *William Temple*'s *Antagoniſt* in the very firſt Chapter, and ſuſtain'd that Character almoſt through his whole Performance. This Uſage could not but be reſented by a Perſon of Sir *William*'s *Merit* and *Senſibility*; but what nettled him more to the quick was, that a Perſon of far greater Diſtinction among the Learned, Dr. *Bentley*, Chaplain in Ordinary, and Library-Keeper to King *William* III. increas'd the number of his Adverſaries. In his *Eſſay upon Antient and Modern Learning*, Sir *William* had advanc'd what follows *: *It may perhaps be further affirm'd, in favour of the Antients, that the oldeſt Books we have, are ſtill in their kind the beſt. The two moſt antient that I know of in Proſe, among thoſe we call profane Authors, are* Æſop's Fables *and* Phalaris's *Epiſtles, both living near the ſame time; which was that of* Cyrus *and* Pythagoras. *As the firſt has been agreed by all Ages ſince, for the greateſt Maſter of his kind, and all others of that ſort have been but Imitations of his Original; ſo I think the Epiſtles of* Phalaris, *to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have ſeen, either Antient or Modern. I know ſeveral learned Men, (or that uſually paſs for ſuch, under the name of* Criticks) *have not eſteem'd them genuine; and* Politian *with ſome others, have attributed them to* Lucian: *But I think he muſt have little Skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original. Such Freedom of Thought, ſuch Boldneſs of Expreſſion, ſuch Bounty to his Friends, ſuch Scorn of his Enemies, ſuch Honour of Learned Men, ſuch*

* *See that Eſſay*, Miſcellanea, *p.* 58. *4th Edition.*

Eſteem of Good, ſuch Knowledg of Life, ſuch Contempt of Death, with ſuch Fierceneſs of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be repreſented but by him that poſſeſs'd them: and I eſteem Lucian *to have been no more capable of* Writing *than of* Acting *what* Phalaris *did. In all one writ, you find the* Scholar *or the* Sophiſt; *and in all the other, the* Tyrant *and the* Commander.

In oppoſition to this, Dr. *Bentley*, in a DISSERTATION *upon the Epiſtles of* Phalaris, and others, *and the Fables of* Æſop, addreſs'd to Mr. *Wotton*, and printed in 1697, at the end of the *Second Edition* of Mr. *Wotton*'s *Reflections upon Antient and Modern Learning*, endeavour'd to demonſtrate, that the *Epiſtles of* Phalaris *are ſpurious*, and *that we have nothing now extant of* Æſop's *own compoſing*. The Doctor profeſſes * to his Friend, *That he writes without any regard to his Controverſy, which he neither made his own, nor preſum'd to interpoſe in it.* And 'tis certain, that *Diſſertation* was principally level'd at the Honourable and Ingenious Mr. *Charles Boyle*, the preſent Earl of *Orrery*: But yet a few Lines after, he begins to fall foul on Sir *William Temple*. 'That *ſome of the oldeſt Books are the beſt in their* 'kinds (ſays Dr. *Bentley* †) the ſame Perſon having 'the double Glory of Invention and Perfection; 'is a thing obſerv'd even by ſome of the Antients ‖. But then the Authors they gave this 'Honour to, are *Homer* and *Archilochus*, one the 'Father of Heroic Poem, and the other of *Epode* 'and *Trochaic*. But the choice of *Phalaris* and '*Æſop*, as they are now extant, for the two great 'inimitable Originals, is a piece of Criticiſm of a 'peculiar Complexion, and muſt proceed from a 'ſingularity of Palate and Judgment.' After many

* *Dr.* Bentley's *Diſſertation*, p. 6. † *Ibid.* p. 7.
‖ Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 33. p. 397.

critical

critical Arguments from Words and Language, and *Inconſiſtencies of Times and Places*, Dr. *Bentley* pretends, 'That the very * Matter and Buſineſs of 'the Letters ſufficiently diſcovers them to be an 'Impoſture. What Force of Wit and Spirit in the 'Stile, *continues he?* What lively painting of Hu'mour, ſome fancy they diſcern there, I will not 'examine nor diſpute. But, methinks, little Senſe 'and Judgment is ſhewn in the Ground-work, and 'Subject of them. What an improbable and ab'ſurd Story is that of the LIV? What an Inconſi'ſtency is there between the LI and LXIX Epiſtles? 'That a Scene of putid and ſenſleſs Formality 'are the LXXIIX, LXXIX, and CXLIV? It would 'be endleſs to proſecute this Part, and ſhew all the '*Silline ſs* and *Impertinency* in the Matter of the 'Epiſtles: For take them in the whole Bulk, if a 'great Perſon would give me leave, I ſhould ſay, 'they are a Fardle of Common-Places, without any 'Life or Spirit from Action or Circumſtance. Do 'but caſt your Eye upon *Cicero*'s Letters, or any 'States-Man's, as *Phalaris* was: what lively Cha'racters of Men there! What Deſcriptions of Place! 'What Notifications of Time! What Particularity 'of Circumſtances! What Multiplicity of Deſigns 'and Events! When you return to theſe again, 'you feel, by the Emptineſs and Deadneſs of them, 'that you converſe with ſome dreaming Pedant 'with his Elbow on his Desk; not with an active, 'ambitious Tyrant, with his Hand on his Sword, 'commanding a Million of Subjects. All that takes 'and affects you, is Stiffneſs and Statelineſs, and '*Operoſeneſs* of Stile: but as that is improper and 'unbecoming in all *Epiſtles*, ſo eſpecially it is quite 'alien from the Character of *Phalaris*, a Man of 'Buſineſs and Diſpatch.' Dr. *Bentley* having after-

* *Pag.* 55. & ſeq.

wards examin'd the Epiſtles aſcribed to *Themiſtocles*, *Socrates*, *Euripides*, and others, proceeds to the *Fables of* Æſop. 'And here, *ſays* * *he*, I am 'glad to find a good part of the Work done ready 'to my hand: For Monſieur *Bachet Sr. de Mezziriac*, 'has writ the Life of *Æſop* in *French*: Which Book 'tho I could never meet with it, I can gueſs from 'the great Learning of the Author, known to me 'by his other Works, to have in a manner ex-'hauſted the Subject. *Vavaſor* too, *De Ludicra* 'Dictione, aſcribes the preſent *Fables* to *Maximus* 'Planudes, and not to *Æſop* himſelf. See alſo a 'great deal upon this Head in the late *Hiſtorical* 'Dictionary of Mr. *Bayle*. All which made me look 'upon Sir *William Temple*'s mighty Commendation 'of the *Æſopean Fables*, now extant, which is the 'occaſion of this Treatiſe, to be an unhappy Para-'dox; neither worthy of the great Author, nor 'agreeable to the reſt of his *excellent Book*. For 'if I do not much deceive my ſelf, I ſhall ſoon 'make it appear, that of all the Compoſitions of 'the *Æſopic Fables*, theſe that we have now left 'us, are both the laſt and the worſt; *and that* 'tis 'very uncertain, if *Æſop* himſelf left any *Fables* be-'hind him in Writing, *&c.*'

In Anſwer to Mr. *Wotton* and Dr. *Bentley*, Sir *William Temple* began an *Eſſay*, which ſome time after his Death, was printed in his MISCELLA-NEA, the *Third Part*; with the Title of *Some Thoughts upon Reviewing the Eſſay, of Antient and Modern Learning*. 'I have (*ſays Sir* William †) been induc'd by 'ſeveral Motives to take a farther Survey of the 'Controverſy ariſen of late Years, concerning the 'Excellence of *Antient and Modern Learning*. Firſt, 'The common Intereſt of Learning in general, and

* *Pag.* 135.

† Miſcellanea, *Part. III. p.* 203. & ſeq. *Edit. of* 1701.

'parti-

'particularly in our Univerſities; and to prevent
'the Diſcouragement of Scholars, in all degrees,
'from reading the Antient Authors, who muſt be
'acknowledg'd to have been the Foundation of all
'*Modern Learning*, whatever the Superſtructures
'may have been. Next a juſt Indignation at the
'Inſolence of the Modern Advocates, in defaming
'thoſe Heroes among the Antients, whoſe Memory
'has been ſacred and admir'd for ſo many Ages;
'as *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, &c. This
'I confeſs, gave me the ſame kind of Horror I
'ſhould have had, in ſeeing ſome young barbarous
'*Goths* or *Vandals* breaking or defacing the admi-
'rable Statues of thoſe antient Heroes of *Greece*
'or *Rome*, which had ſo long preſerv'd their Memo-
'ries honour'd and almoſt ador'd, for ſo many Ge-
'nerations. My laſt Motive was to vindicate the
'Credit of our Nation, as others have done the
'*French*, from the Imputation of this Injuſtice and
'Preſumption, that the Modern Advocates have
'us'd in this Caſe.—— The *Miſcellanea*, *whereof the*
'*Eſſay upon Antient and Modern Learning* was a part,
'being tranſlated into *French*, the Members of that
'Academy were ſo concern'd and aſham'd, that a
'Stranger ſhould lay ſuch an Infamy upon ſome of
'their Society, as Want of Reverence for the An-
'tients, and the Preſumption of preferring the
'Moderns before them; that they fell into great
'Indignation againſt the few Criminals among
'them: they began to pelt them with Satirs and
'Epigrams in Writing, and with bitter Railleries
'in their Diſcourſes and Converſations; and led
'them ſuch a life, that they ſoon grew weary of
'their new-fangled Opinions; which had, per-
'haps, been taken up at firſt, only to make their
'Court, and at ſecond hand, to flatter thoſe who
'had flatter'd their King. Upon the *Miſcellanea's*

'firſt

first printing in *Paris*, Monſieur *Boileau* made this *ſhort* * *Satir.*

Clio vint l'autre jour ſe plaindre au Dieu des Vers,
Qu'en certain lieu de l'Univers,
On traitoit d'Auteurs froids, de Poëtes ſteriles,
Lets Homeres & les Virgiles.
Cela ne ſauroit être; on s'eſt moqué de vous,
Reprit Apollon en courroux:
Où peut on avoir dit une telle Infamie?
Eſt-ce chez les Hurons, *chez les* Topinamboux?
C'eſt à Paris. *C'eſt donc dans l'Hôpital des Fous?*
Non, c'eſt au Louvre, *en pleine* Academie.

Thus *Engliſh'd* by Mr. *Ozell:*

CLIO complain'd upon a time
To PHOEBUS, God of Day and Rhyme:
You can't imagine, Sir, ſaid ſhe,
That ſuch a thing ſhould ever be,
In any Corner of the World,
Where-e'er your golden Beams are hurl'd;
That an ungracious Set of Men
Should call with Tongue, or write with Pen,
HOMER and VIRGIL, barren Tools,
And an inſipid Brace of Fools.
Impoſſible! APOLLO cry'd.
'Tis very true, the Muſe reply'd.
Perhaps among thoſe ſalvage Sots,
The *Hurons*, or the *Hottentots!*
At *Paris*. *In a Mad-Houſe then?*
No, by a Pack of Learned Men:
And at the *Louvre* it was done,
Before the Eyes of you, the Sun.

* *I have printed both this* Epigram *and the following, as they are to be ſeen in Mr.* Boileau's *Works; and not as they are quoted and inſerted in Sir* William Temple's *Eſſay; where they are miſprinted, I ſuppoſe, either through the Ignorance or Negligence of the* Editor.

Upon

'Upon the ſame Occaſion, and about the ſame 'Time, Monſieur *Racine* * made this other; which 'more particularly touch'd Monſieur *Perrault*, as 'the firſt did Monſieur *Fontenelle*.

D'où vient que Ciceron, Platon, Virgile, Homere,
Et tous ces grands Auteurs que l'Univers revere,
Traduits dans vos Ecrits nous paroiſſent ſi ſots?
Perrault, *c'eſt qu'en prêtant à ces Eſprits ſublimes*
Vos façons de parler, vos baſſeſſes, vos rimes,
Vous les faites tous des Perraults.

Thus *Engliſh'd* by the ſame Hand:

How comes it, *Perrault*, I would gladly know,
That Authors of two Thouſand Years ago,
Whom in their Native Dreſs all Times revere,
In your Tranſlations ſhould ſo flat appear?
'Tis you diveſt them of their own Sublime,
By your vile Crudities, and humble Rhyme.
They're thine, when ſuffering thy wretched Phraſe,
And then no wonder, if they meet no Praiſe.

'Some of the *French* Academy, *continues Sir* Wil-'liam Temple, took care to ſend theſe, and other 'ſuch Pieces into *England*, and other Countries, to 'clear their Reputation from the Slander drawn 'upon them by Two or Three of their Body; 'and treated the Reverence of the Antients as 'ſomething Sacred, and the want of it as Barba-'rous and Profane. Monſieur *Perrault*, to eſcape 'the reſt of this Storm, ſoon chang'd his Party, 'profeſſing it upon all Occaſions: And, to ſhew 'the truth of his Converſion, publiſh'd, among

* *Sir* William Temple, *by miſtake, fathers on* Racine *this Epigram, which was writ by Monſieur* Boileau, *and is publiſh'd with his Works.*

'other

'other ſmall Pieces, the Dialogue in *Homer*, be-
'tween *Hector* and *Andromache*, which he had
'tranſlated, and preſented to the Academy, *March*
'3. 1693. ——By this it appears, with what
'Indignation and Scorn this new Opinion of our
'Modern Admirers has been us'd in *France*, and how
'penitent a Recantation Monſieur *Perrault* thought
'fit to make for his former Errors. So as thoſe
'who have ſince follow'd and defended him, or his
'firſt Opinions, ſeem to have been *decoy'd into the*
'*Net by another Duck, that flew away as ſoon as*
'*they were caught.* Therefore the late Objections
'againſt that *Eſſay*, ſeem to have been writ without
'any Intelligence of what paſs'd at *Paris* before,
'or about that time; having had the ill fortune
'to be deſerted in *France*, and not countenanc'd,
'that I know of, in *England*. For the learned
'Author of the *Antidiluvian* World, tho moſt
'concern'd in that Eſſay upon this Subject, has
'been ſo far from defending this new Aſſer-
'tion, that he has ſince publiſh'd his *Archæologiæ*,
'and therein ſhewn both his great Knowledg and
'Eſteem of the antient Learning; and prov'd
'thereby, that whoever knows it, muſt eſteem it:
'and left ſuch Modern Advocates for an Evidence
'of the contrary, that whoever deſpiſes it, in com-
'pariſon of the new, does not know it.'

After a ſhort Vindication of *Pythagoras*, the ſeven *Sages*, *Empedocles*, and *Democritus*, he adds: 'Since
'* the Modern Advocates yield, tho very unwil-
'lingly, the Pre-eminence of the Antients in Poe-
'try, Oratory, Painting, Statuary, and Architec-
'ture; I ſhall proceed to examine the Account
'they give of thoſe Sciences, wherein they affirm
'the Moderns to excel the Antients: whereof they
'make the chief to be, the Invention of Inſtru-

* Ubi ſupra, p. 230.

'ments,

'ments, Chymistry, Anatomy, Natural History 'of Minerals, Plants, and Animals, Astronomy, 'and Opticks; Musick, Physick, Natural Philoso-'phy, Philology and Theology: Of all which I 'shall take a short Survey.' Here is a *Chasm* in Sir *William*'s Essay, for which the *Publisher* of his *Posthumous Works* accounts in this manner: *Here it is supposed, the Knowledg of the Antients and Moderns in the Sciences last mention'd, was to have been compar'd; but whether the Author design'd to have gone through such a Work himself, or intended these Papers only for Hints to some body else that desir'd them, is not known.* After this, follows what Sir *William* writ on the antient Learning of the *Assyrians*, *Persians*, and *Egyptians*, with some Reflections on *Chymistry*, *Philology*, and *Divinity*; which gives him an opportunity to lash his two Antagonists. 'I must 'confess, *says* * *he*, that the *Criticks* are a Race 'of Scholars I am very little acquainted with; 'having always esteem'd them but like *Brokers*, 'who having no Stock of their own, set up and 'trade with that of other Men; buying here and 'selling there, and commonly abusing both Sides, 'to make out a little paltry Gain, either of Mony 'or of Credit, for themselves, and care not at 'whose Cost. Yet the first Design of these kind 'of Writers, after the Restoration of Learning in 'these Western Parts, was to be commended, and 'of much Use and Entertainment to the Age. 'Tis to them we owe the Editions of all the an-'cient Authors, the best Translations of many out 'of *Greek*, the restoring of the old Copies, maimed 'with Time or Negligence, the correcting of o-'thers mistaken in the transcribing, the explaining 'of Places obscure, in an Age so ignorant of the 'Stile or Customs of the Antients: And in short,

* Ubi supra, p. 46. & seq.

'endeavouring to recover theſe old Jewels out of 'the Duſt and Rubbiſh wherein they had been ſo 'long loſt or ſoil'd, to reſtore them to their na-'tive Luſter, and make them appear in their true 'Light. This made up the Merit and Value of 'the Criticks for the firſt hundred Years, and de-'ſerv'd both Praiſe and Thanks of the Age, and 'the Rewards of Princes, as well as the Applauſe 'of common Scholars. But ſince they have turn'd 'their Vein to debaſe the Credit and Value of the 'Antients, and raiſe their own above thoſe, to 'whom they owe all the little they know; and 'inſtead of true Wit, Senſe, or Genius, to diſplay 'their own proper Colours of Pride, Envy, or De-'traction, in what they write: To trouble them-'ſelves and the World with vain Niceties and cap-'tious Cavils, about Words and Syllables, in the 'Judgment of Stile; about Hours and Days in the 'Account of antient Actions or Times; about an-'tiquated Names of Perſons or Places, with many 'ſuch worthy Trifles; and all this to find ſome oc-'caſion of Cenſuring and Defaming ſuch Writers 'as are, or have been moſt eſteem'd in the World; 'raking into ſlight Wounds where they had any, 'or ſcratching till they make ſome, where there 'were none before: There is, I think, no ſort of 'Talent ſo deſpiſable, as that of ſuch common 'Criticks, who can at beſt pretend but to value 'themſelves, by diſcovering the Defaults of other 'Men, rather than any Worth or Merit of their 'own: A ſort of Levellers, that will needs equal 'the beſt or richeſt of the Country, not by im-'proving their own Eſtates, but reducing thoſe of 'their Neighbours, and making them appear as 'mean and wretched as themſelves. The truth is, 'there has been ſo much written of this kind of 'Stuff, that the World is ſurfeited with the ſame 'things over and over; or old common Notions,

'new

new dreſs'd, and, perhaps, embroider'd. —One would think, that the *Modern Advocates*, after having confounded all the Antients and all that eſteem them, might have been contented; but one of them, I find, will not be ſatisfy'd to condemn the reſt of the World, without applauding himſelf: and therefore falling into a Rapture upon the Contemplation of his own wonderful Performance, he tells us; *Hitherto, in the main, I pleaſe my ſelf, that there cannot be much ſaid againſt what I have aſſerted* *. I wonder a Divine upon ſuch an Occaſion, ſhould not at leaſt have had as much Grace as a *French* Lawyer in *Montagne*; who, after a dull tedious Argument, that had wearied the Court and the Company, when he went from the Bar, was heard muttering to himſelf; *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis*: But this Writer, rather like the proud *Spaniard*, that would not have St. *Laurence*'s Patience upon the Gridiron aſcrib'd to the Grace of God, but only to the true *Spaniſh* Valour; will not have his own Perfections and Excellencies owing to any thing elſe but the true Force of his own Modern Learning; and thereupon he falls into the ſweet Extaſy of Joy, wherein I ſhall leave him till he come to himſelf.' After this, Sir *William Temple* brings the main Queſtion to a Point, and ſays, That 'the whole Cauſe between the Pretenſions of Antient and Modern Learning, will be beſt decided by the Compariſon of the *Perſons and the Things* that have been produc'd under the Inſtitutions and Diſcipline of the one or the other: And concludes, that the firſt Chapter of the *Eccleſiaſtes*, with many other Paſſages in that admirable Book, were enough, one would think, to humble and mortify the Preſumption of our Modern Scioliſts, if their Pride were not as great as

* *Mr.* Wotton *in his Reflections*, p. 390. *1ſt Edition of* 1694.

'their Ignorance; or if they knew the reſt of the 'World any better than they know themſelves.'

This *Eſſay* of Sir *William Temple*'s, as was hinted before, was never finiſh'd, nor publiſh'd in his Life-time: But yet he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the *Modern Advocates* exploded in *England*, as they had been in *France*, and other Countries; and that both the Univerſities and the Town highly reſented *that a Perſon of his Character and Merits ſhould be ſo roughly us'd, without any manner of Provocation.* Among the reſt, the *ingenious Author* of the TALE OF A TUB, warmly eſpous'd Sir *William Temple*'s Quarrel; and, in his *Ludicraus Sarcaſtick* Strain, expos'd Sir *William*'s *Reverend Adverſaries*. 'To ſpeak 'a bold Truth, *ſays* * *he*, it is a fatal Miſcarriage, 'ſo ill to order Affairs, as to paſs for a *Fool* in one 'Company, when in another you might be treated 'as a *Philoſopher*: Which I deſire *ſome certain Gentlemen of my Acquaintance*, to lay up in their Hearts 'as a very ſeaſonable *Innuendo*. This, indeed, was 'the fatal Miſtake of that worthy Gentleman, my 'moſt ingenious Friend, Mr. *W--tt--n*; a Perſon, 'in appearance ordain'd for great Deſigns, as well 'as Performances; whether you will conſider his 'Notions or his *Looks*. Surely, no Man ever ad-'vanc'd into the Publick, with fitter Qualifications 'of Body and Mind, for the Propagation of a new 'Religion. Oh! had theſe happy Talents, miſap-'ply'd to vain Philoſophy, been turn'd into their 'proper Channels of *Dreams* and *Viſions*, where '*Diſtortion* of Mind and Countenance are of ſuch 'ſoveraign Uſe, the baſe detracting World would 'then have dar'd to report, that ſomething is a-'miſs, that his Brain has undergone an unlucky 'ſhake; which even his Brother *Moderniſts* them-'ſelves, like Ungrates, do whiſper ſo loud, that it

* *Tale of a Tub*, p. 167, *4th Edition, in* 8°.

'reaches

'reaches up to the very Garret I am now writing 'in!' A few Pages after, the Author of the *Tale of a Tub* has a *Fling* at Mr. *Wotton*'s Second. 'There 'is, *ſays* * *he*, in this famous Iſland of *Britain*, a 'certain paultry *Scribler*, very voluminous, whoſe 'Character the Reader cannot wholly be a Stranger 'to. He deals in a pernicious kind of Writings, 'call'd *Second Parts*, and uſually paſſes under the 'Name of *The Author of the Firſt*. I eaſily foreſee, 'that as ſoon as I lay down my Pen, this nimble 'Operator will have ſtole it, and treat me as inhu-'manly as he has already done Dr. *Bl*———*re*, '*L*——*ge*, and many others, who ſhall be here 'nameleſs. I therefore fly for Juſtice and Relief, 'into the hands of that great *Rectifier of Saddles*, and '*Lover of Mankind*, Dr. *B*——*tly*; begging he will 'take this enormous Grievance into his moſt *Modern* 'Conſideration: and if it ſhould happen, that *the* '*Furniture of an Aſs*, in the Shape of a *Second Part*, 'muſt, for my Sins, be clapt, by a miſtake, upon 'my Back; that he will immediately pleaſe, in the 'Preſence of the World, to lighten me of the Bur-'den, and take it home *to his own Houſe*, till the '*true Beaſt* thinks fit to call for it.'

The Author of the *Tale of a Tub* did in a more particular manner, and, as the Phraſe is, *ex profeſſo*, vindicate Sir *William Temple*, and ridicule his Adverſaries, in a Diſcourſe, of which he undoubtedly took the Hint from an *Allegorical Novel*, † written in *French by* Monſieur *de Furetiere*; and which he printed by way of *Appendix* to the *Tale of a Tub*, with the Title of *A full and true Account of the Battel fought laſt* Friday, *between the* Antient *and the* Modern *Books in St.* James's *Library*. He wittily ſuppoſes, that

* *Tale of a Tub*, p. 187. † *Entituled*, Nouvellé Allegorique des derniers Troubles arrivez au Royaume d'Eloquence, *&c.*

there

there appearing no end of the famous Diſpute that was on foot in the Year 1697. about *Antient and Modern Learning*; at length, the *Books* in *St. James's* Library, looking upon themſelves as Parties principally concern'd, took up the Controverſy, and came to a *deciſive Battel*. 'The *Guardian* of the 'Regal Library, ſays * he, a Perſon of great Va-'lour, but chiefly renown'd for his *Humanity*, had 'been a fierce Champion for the *Moderns*; and in 'an Engagement upon *Parnaſſus*, had vow'd, with 'his own Hands, to knock down two of the *An-'tient Chiefs*, who guarded a ſmall Paſs on a ſupe-'rior Rock; but endeavouring to climb up, was 'cruelly obſtructed by his own unhappy Weight and 'Tendency towards the Center; a Quality to 'which thoſe of the *Modern* Party are extreme 'ſubject: For being light-headed, they have, in 'Speculation, a wonderful Agility, and conceive 'nothing too high for them to mount; but in re-'ducing to Practice, diſcover a mighty Preſſure upon 'their Poſteriors and their Heels. Having thus 'fail'd in his Deſign, the diſappointed Champion 'bore a cruel Rancour to the *Antients*, which he 'reſolv'd to gratify, by ſhewing all Marks of his 'Favour to the Books of their Adverſaries, and 'lodging them in the faireſt Apartments; when, 'at the ſame time, whatever *Book* had the Bold-'neſs to own it ſelf for an Advocate of the *Antients*, 'was buried alive in ſome obſcure Corner, and 'threatned, upon the leaſt diſpleaſure, to be turned 'out of doors. Beſides, it ſo happen'd, that a-'bout this time, there was a ſtrange Confuſion of 'Place among all the Books in the Library; for 'which ſeveral Reaſons were aſſign'd. Some impu-'ted it to a great Heap of *learned Duſt*, which a 'perverſe Wind blew off from a Shelf of *Moderns*

* *Tale of a Tub*, p. 238, 239. 4*th Edition.*

'into

'into the *Keeper*'s Eyes. Others affirm'd, he had 'a Humour to pick the *Worms* out of the *Schoolmen*, 'and ſwallow them freſh and faſting; whereof ſome 'fell upon his *Spleen*, and ſome climb'd up into his 'Head, to the great Perturbation of both. And, 'laſtly, others maintained, that by walking much 'in the dark about the Library, he had quite loſt 'the Situation of it out of his Head; and there-'fore, in replacing his *Books*, he was apt to miſ-'take, and clap *Des-Cartes* next to *Ariſtotle*; poor '*Plato* had got between *Hobbes* and the *Seven Wiſe* '*Maſters*; and *Virgil* was hemm'd in with *Dryden* 'on one ſide, and *Withers* on the other, *&c.*'

To return to Sir *William Temple*'s Works: in his MISCELLANEA, *The Third Part*, beſides the ESSAY before mention'd, in *Defence of the* former ESSAY upon Antient and Modern Learning, there were publiſh'd two other ESSAYS, *viz.* one on POPULAR DISCONTENTS, and another upon HEALTH AND LONG LIFE; with HEADS deſign'd for an *Eſſay upon the different Conditions of* Life *and* Fortune. HEADS for another *Eſſay on Converſation*; and ſome *Copies of Verſes* written at different Times, and on ſeveral Subjects.

The *Publiſher*, *Jonathan Swift*, at that * time, only Maſter of Arts, and Prebendary of *St. Patrick's Dublin*, acquaints the Reader, 'That the two *Eſſays* 'of *Popular Diſcontents*, and of *Health and Long Life*, 'were written many Years before the Author's 'Death: That they were reviſed and corrected by 'himſelf; and were deſigned to have been a part 'of a third *Miſcellanea*, to which ſome others were 'to have been added, if the latter Part of his Life 'had been attended with any ſufficient Degree of 'Health.' *But as* for the third Paper, relating to the Controverſy about *Antient and Modern Learning*,

* *In the Year* 1701.

Mr.

Mr. *Swift* ingenuouſly owns, *He cannot well inform the Reader upon what Occaſion it was writ, having been at that time in another Kingdom; but that it appears never to have been finiſh'd by the Author.* Upon this, I cannot but obſerve, that it ſeems very improbable, if not altogether impoſſible, that Dr. *Swift*, a Perſon of Learned Converſation, ſhould be altogether ignorant of the famous Diſpute about *Antient and Modern Learning*; which gave birth to that *Second Eſſay* of Sir *William Temple*'s upon that Subject. This I am ſure of, that had not Dr. *Swift* made that publick declaration, he would very highly, and indeed juſtly, reſent the being tax'd by any other, with being ignorant of a Paſſage that made ſo great Noiſe in the Commonwealth of Learning. This Conſideration ſuggeſts to me a *Conjecture* which I ſhall venture to publiſh, *viz.* That the Doctor, who, at the Time of the Publication of the *Third Miſcellanea*, was generally *ſuſpected* of being the Author of the *Tale of a Tub*, which came Abroad ſome time before, and which he did not think fit to own, might fancy, that by his Diſclaiming the Knowledg of the Occaſion on which Sir *William* wrote the Eſſay before mention'd, he would weaken the *ſuſpicion* of his having writ the *Tale of a Tub*; which laſt is a *Subſidiary Defence* of Sir *William Temple*. However, I only write this as a *Conjecture*.

The *Copies of Verſes* printed at the end of the *Third Miſcellanea*, are a few Tranſlations from *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Tibullus*; or rather *Imitations*, done by Sir *William* above thirty Years before; whereof the firſt was printed among other *Eclogues* of *Virgil* in the Year 1679. but without any mention of the Author. That which is worth all the reſt, and which, in a moſt lively manner, expreſſes Sir *William*'s great Love for his Country, was written *upon the Approach of the Shore at* Harwich, *in* January 1668. *and begun under the Maſt.* It is as follows:

Welcome

WElcome the faireſt and the happieſt Earth,
Seat of my Hopes and Pleaſures, as my Birth:
Mother of well-born Souls, and fearleſs Hearts,
In Arms renown'd, and flouriſhing in Arts:
The Iſland of *good Nature*, and *good Cheer*,
That elſewhere only paſs, inhabit here:
Region of *Valour*, and of *Beauty* too;
Which ſhews the Brave are only fit to woo.
No Child Thou haſt, ever approach'd thy Shore,
That lov'd thee better, or eſteem'd thee more;
Beaten with Journeys, both of Land and Seas,
Weary'd with Care, the buſy Man's Diſeaſe;
Pinch'd with the Froſt, and parched with the Wind,
Giddy with rolling, and with faſting pin'd;
Spighted and vex'd, that Winds, and Tides, and Sands,
Should all conſpire, to croſs ſuch great Commands,
As haſte me Home, with an Account, that brings
The Doom of Kingdoms to the beſt of Kings.
Yet I *reſpire* at thy reviving ſight,
Welcome as *Health*, and chearful as the *Light*:
How I forget my Anguiſh and my Toils,
Charm'd at th' Approach of thy delightful Soils?
How like a Mother, thou hold'ſt out thy Arms
To ſave thy Children from purſuing Harms;
And open'ſt thy kind Boſom, where they find
Safety from Waves, and Shelter from the Wind?
Thy Cliffs ſo ſtately, and ſo green thy Hills,
This with Reſpect, with Hope the other fills
All that approach thee, who believe they find
A *Spring* for *Winter*, that they left behind.
Thy ſweet Incloſures, and thy ſcatter'd Farms,
Shew thy Secureneſs from thy Neighbour's Harms;
Their Sheep in Houſes, and their Men in Towns,
Sleep only ſafe, thine rove about the Downs,
And Hills, and Groves, and Plains, and know no Fear
Of Foes, or Wolves, or Cold, throughout the Year.

Their vaſt and frightful Woods ſeem only made
To cover cruel Deeds, and give a Shade
To ſavage Beaſts, who on the weaker prey,
Or Human Savages more wild than they.
Thy pleaſant Thickets, and thy ſhady Groves,
Only relieve the Heats, and cover Loves;
Sheltring no other Thefts or Cruelties,
But thoſe of killing or beguiling Eyes.
Their famiſh'd Hinds by cruel Lords enſlav'd,
Ruin'd by Taxes, and by Soldiers brav'd,
Know no more Eaſe than juſt what Sleep can give;
Have no more Heart and Courage, but to live.
Thy brawny Clowns, and ſturdy Seamen fed
With manly Food, that their own Fields have bred;
SAFE in their *Laws*, and eaſy in their Rent,
Bleſt in their King, and in their State content:
When they are call'd away from Herd or Plough
To Arms, will make all foreign Forces bow;
And ſhew how much a lawful Monarch ſaves,
When *Twenty Subjects beat an Hundred Slaves.*
Fortunate Iſland! if thou didſt but know,
How much thou doſt to Heav'n and Nature owe!
And if thy Humour were as good, as great
Thy Forces, and as bleſt thy Soil and Seat;
But then with Numbers thou would'ſt be o'er-run,
Strangers, to breathe thy Air, their own would ſhun;
And of thy Children, none abroad would roam,
But for the Pleaſure of returning *Home*.
Come and embrace us in thy ſaving Arms,
Command the Waves to ceaſe their rough Alarms,
And guard us to thy Port, that we may ſee,
Thou art indeed the Empreſs of the Sea.
So may thy Ships about the Ocean courſe,
And ſtill increaſe in Number and in Force.
So may no Storms ever infeſt thy Shores,
But all the Winds that blow, increaſe thy Stores.
May never more contagious Air ariſe,
To cloſe ſo many of thy Children's Eyes;

But

But all about thee Health and Plenty vie,
Which ſhall ſeem kindeſt to thee, Earth or Sky.
May no more Fires be ſeen among thy Towns,
But charitable Beacons on thy Downs;
Or elſe victorious Bonfires in thy Streets,
Kindled by Winds that blow from off thy Fleets.
Mayſt thou feel no more Fits of factious Rage,
But all Diſtempers may thy *Charles* aſſwage,
With ſuch a well-tun'd Concord of his State,
As none but ill, and hated Men, may hate.
And mayſt thou from him endleſs Monarchs ſee,
Whom thou mayſt honour, who may honour thee.
May they be *Wiſe* and *Good*; thy happy Seat,
And Stores, will never fail to make them *Great*.

In the Year 1695. Sir *William Temple* publiſh'd *An Introduction to the Hiſtory of* England; of which, in the *Preface*, he gives us himſelf the following Account:

'I have often, *ſays he*, complain'd, that ſo antient and noble a Nation as ours, ſo renown'd by 'the Fame of their Arms and Exploits Abroad; ſo 'applauded and envied, for their wiſe and happy 'Inſtitutions at Home; ſo flouriſhing in Arts and 'Learning, and ſo adorn'd by excellent Writers in o-'ther kinds; ſhould not yet have produc'd one *good or* 'approv'd *general Hiſtory of* England. That of *France* 'has been compos'd with great Induſtry by *Des Ser-'res*, with Judgment and Candor by *Mezeray*. That 'of *Spain* with great Diligence and eloquent Stile, 'by *Mariana*. That of the Empire, with much 'Pains and good Order, as well as Learning, by '*Pedro de Mexia*: But ours have been written by 'ſuch mean and vulgar Authors, ſo tedious in their 'Relations, or rather Collections; ſo injudicious in 'the Choice of what was fit to be told, or to be let 'alone; with ſo little Order, and in ſo wretched a 'Stile; that as it is a Shame to be ignorant in the

'Affairs of our own Country, ſo 'tis hardly worth 'the Time or Pains to be inform'd; ſince for that 'end a Man muſt read over a *Library* rather than a '*Book*; and, after all, muſt be content to forget 'more than he remembers. 'Tis true, ſome Par-'cels or ſhort Periods of our Hiſtory have been left 'us by Perſons of great Worth and Learning, much 'honour'd or eſteem'd in their Times; as, part of '*Edward* the *Fourth* and *Richard* the *Third* by Sir '*Thomas Moor*; *Henry* the *Seventh* by Sir *Francis* '*Bacon*; *Henry* the *Eighth* by the Lord *Herbert*; '*Edward* the *Sixth* by Sir *John Hayward*; and Queen '*Elizabeth* by Mr. *Cambden*. There are beſides theſe, 'many voluminous Authors of antient Times, in '*Latin*; and of Modern, in *Engliſh*, with ſome Fo-'reigners; as *Froiſſart* and *Polidore Virgil*: out of 'all which might be fram'd a full and juſt Body of 'our *General Hiſtory*, if collected with Pains and 'Care, and digeſted with good Order: For the '*Architect is* only *wanting*, and *not the Materials* '*for* ſuch a Building. I will confeſs, I had it in 'my Thoughts at one time of my Life, and the moſt 'proper for ſuch a Work, to make an Abridgment 'of our *Engliſh* Story; having obſerv'd that *Mezze-*'*ray*'s *Abregé* of his own, was more eſteem'd, and 'much more read than his larger Volume: but 'thoſe Thoughts were ſoon diverted by other Im-'ployments, wherein I had the Hopes, as well as 'Intentions, of doing ſome greater Services to my 'Country. I have ſince endeavour'd to engage 'ſome of my Friends in the ſame Deſign, whom I 'thought capable of atchieving it; but have not 'prevail'd; ſome pretending *Modeſty*, and others 'too much valuing Eaſe. Therefore to invite and 'encourage ſome worthy Spirit, and true Lover of 'our Country to purſue this Attempt; I have con-'ſented to the publiſhing of this *Introduction to the* '*Hiſtory of England*; wherein I have traced a ſhort

'Account

'Account of this Iſland; the Names, the Inhabi-
'tants, and Conſtitution thereof, from the firſt Ori-
'ginals, as far as I could find any ground of pro-
'bable Story, or of fair Conjecture; ſince Philo-
'ſophers tell us, That *none can be ſaid to know Things*
'*well, who does not know them in their Beginnings.* I
'have further deduc'd it through the great and me-
'morable Changes of Names, People, Cuſtoms, and
'Laws that paſs'd here, until the End of the firſt
'*Norman* Reign, which made the laſt and great Pe-
'riod of this Kingdom; leaving the Succeſſions and
'Conſtitutions ſince that Time, ſo fix'd and eſta-
'bliſh'd, as to have laſted for the ſpace of above ſix
'hundred Years, without any conſiderable Altera-
'tion, from ſo long a Courſe of Time, or ſuch
'Variety of Events as have ſince arrived in the
'World. I have hereby beaten through all the
'rough and dark ways of this Journey, the reſt lies
'fair and eaſy through a plain and open Country;
'and I ſhould think my ſelf happy to ſee it well pur-
'ſu'd by ſome abler Hand, for the Honour of our
'Nation, and the Satisfaction of our own as well
'as foreign Readers, who ſhall be curious to know
'our Story. I wiſh it may be perform'd with the
'ſame good Intentions, and with much better Suc-
'ceſs than this ſmall Endeavour of mine.'

It was the general Opinion, that Sir *William Temple*, who continued to the laſt a *true Friend* to the Prince of *Orange*, the late King *William* of ever-glorious Memory, publiſh'd at that time his *Introduction to the Hiſtory of* England; both to compliment that Prince, under the *Character* of the *Norman* Conqueror, which he draws and ſets off to great Advantage; and to aſſert the late *Revolution*, by ſhewing, that *Edgar Atheling*, who had an *undoubted Right* of *Succeſſion* to the Crown, was *twice laid aſide.*

And

And here we muſt take notice of the moſt grievous Accident that befel Sir *William Temple* in the whole Courſe of his Life, and under which a Man of leſs Fortitude and Philoſophy than he, would certainly have ſunk. Upon the *Revolution*, he had Offers made him of any Poſt in the Government he would pitch upon: But his Age and Infirmities confirming him in his Reſolution, not to meddle any more with Publick Affairs, he was contented his Son ſhould enjoy the Favour the King intended him. Hereupon Mr. *John Temple* was made Secretary at War in the room of Mr. *Blaithwayt*; but he had hardly been a Week in his Office, when he reſolv'd to make away with himſelf. That melancholy Paſſage is thus related by a foreign * *Journaliſt*. 'On *Friday* the '14th of *April* 1689, he (Mr. *Temple*) ſpent the whole 'Morning at his Office, where he made ſome Diſ-'patches, and about Noon he took Boat in order to 'ſhoot the Bridg, as if he deſign'd to go to *Greenwich*. 'When he was got half way between *Whitehall* and '*London-bridge*, he order'd the Watermen to put 'him aſhore; and getting into a Houſe, he made up 'a Packet with ſome Diſpatches he had forgot to 'leave behind him for General *Ginckel*, and ſome o-'ther *Dutch* Officers, who, the next Day, were to 'ſet out for *Scotland*; and having ſeal'd the Packet, 'he ſent it to his Office by a Porter. Being got again 'into his Boat, he bid the Watermen to ſhoot the 'Bridge through one of the middle Arches, where 'the Stream was moſt rapid, it being a ſtrong Ebb; 'and when he was in the middle of the Current, 'he ſtood up, and threw himſelf into the River: 'Nor was it in the power of the Watermen to ſave 'him, by reaſon the Boat was carry'd off by the 'Rapidity of the Stream, and left behind his heavier

* *Mr.* Lamberti: *See his* Memoires de la Revolution, &c. Vol. II. p. 290. & ſeq.

'Body;

'Body; which they ſaw twice on the Water. Before he caſt himſelf away, he dropt in the Boat a 'Shilling for the Watermen, and a Note he had 'written on his Hat with a Pencil, which was to 'this effect:

MY Folly in undertaking what I was not able to perform, has done the King and Kingdom a great deal of Prejudice: I wiſh him all Happineſs, and abler Servants than, JOHN TEMPLE.

'Twas thought, at firſt, he thereby meant his Incapacity for the Place of Secretary at War; the 'rather, becauſe, the very day before, he had apply'd 'to the King for leave to reſign his Office, by reaſon 'he did not think himſelf qualify'd to diſcharge it 'with Honour. His Majeſty, with the Tenderneſs 'of a Father, bid him *think better on't*, and told him, '*if he was not yet capable of officiating himſelf, he might be in two or three Months; and in the mean time, his Clerks would do the Buſineſs:* And Mr. *Temple* re'plying, that Mr. *Blaithwayt*, who was in that Of'fice before him, had two good Clerks, with whom 'he would not part; the King told him, he would 'ſpeak to Mr. *Blaithwayt*, and make him (Mr. *Temple*) eaſy. But then it was obſerv'd, that for ſome 'Months paſt Mr. *Temple* was become Melancholy, 'avoiding Company; and when he could not, be'tray'd his inward Heavineſs through a forc'd 'Gaiety. And as, on the other hand, the *great Detriment* to the King's Affairs, mention'd in his 'Note, could not be occaſion'd by any Miſtakes he 'had committed in a Place in which he had yet done 'little or nothing; ſo, upon ſecond Thoughts, Peo'ple traced his Melancholy and Misfortune to a 'remoter Cauſe. They call'd to mind, that ſoon 'after his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* came to '*London*, while there was a talk of ſending Forces

'to

'to *Ireland*, for the Reduction of that Kingdom; 'Mr. *Temple* receiv'd a Letter from Mr. *Ellis*, Se-'cretary to the Lord *Tyrconnel*, aſſuring him, That '*his Lordſhip was inclin'd to ſubmit, provided fair* 'Terms were offer'd him; *and that the ſending Forces to* 'Ireland *to reduce him, before any Propoſals were made* 'him, *would but exaſperate him, and force him upon* 'a War, *which might be prevented.* Mr. *Temple* not 'only deliver'd this Letter to the King, but en-'gag'd to him for Mr. *Ellis*'s Honeſty; adding, *His* 'Majeſty *might rely upon his Intelligence.* Whereupon 'it was reſolv'd to diſpatch Colonel *Hamilton* to '*Dublin*, both to ſummon the Lord *Tyrconnel* to 'ſubmit, and to offer him Terms'.

Whether Monſieur *Lamberti* be right in all the *minute* Particulars of his *Relation*, I will not pretend, nor is it material to determine: But 'tis certain he omits the *principal*, which is this. General (*Richard*) *Hamilton* being, upon ſuſpicion, confin'd in the *Tower*, Mr. *Temple* made him now and then a Viſit, upon the ſcore of a former Acquaintance; and diſcourſing together about the preſent Juncture of Affairs, and how to prevent the Effuſion of Blood in *Ireland*, the General ſaid, the beſt way was to ſend thither a Perſon in whom *Tyrconnel* could truſt; and he did not doubt if ſuch a Perſon gave him a true Account of things in *England*, but he would readily ſubmit. Mr. *Temple* communicated this Overture to the King, who approving of it, and looking upon *Hamilton* to be the propereſt Perſon for ſuch a Service, ask'd Mr. *Temple*, *Whether he could be truſted?* Mr. *Temple* readily engaging his Word for General *Hamilton*, the latter was ſent to *Ireland:* but inſtead of diſcharging his Commiſſion with Honour, and perſuading *Tyrconnel* to ſubmit, he us'd all poſſible Arguments to encourage him to ſtand it out; and offer'd him his Aſſiſtance, which *Tyrconnel* gladly accepted. Upon the News of

Hamilton's

Hamilton's Deſertion, Mr. *Temple* expreſs'd his deep Concern for it to the King; who being fully ſatisfy'd of his Innocence in that matter, his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſoften his Uneaſineſs, by telling him, in *French*, Hamilton *nous a manqué de Parole, mais on ne peut pas compter ſur tout le Monde*: that is, Hamilton *has not kept his Word to us, but all Men are not to be relied upon* *. Tho this Anſwer was rather *gracious* and *conſolatory* than rebuking, yet Mr. *Temple* abandon'd himſelf to deep Melancholy; and not being able to bear the racking Thoughts of having been groſly impos'd upon; and, tho with a good Intention, of having committed an Error that was like to prove ſo detrimental to the King's Affairs, he reſolv'd to eaſe himſelf, by parting with Life. He pitch'd upon that kind of Death which he thought the eaſieſt and the ſhorteſt; and to make ſure work, fill'd his Pockets with Lead or Stones, that he might drown the ſooner. Mr. *Temple* being a very promiſing Gentleman, of great natural Abilities, as well as perſonal Accompliſhments, the Publick were extremely concern'd at this private Misfortune. As for Sir *W. Temple*, tho, as a Father, he was moſt ſenſibly affected with the Loſs of ſo worthy a Son, yet he bore his Affliction with Chriſtian Reſignation, or rather with the Firmneſs of a *Stoick*; being of the Opinion of that Sect, *That their wiſe Man might diſpoſe of*

* *We may here take notice, that Colonel* Hamilton *was taken Priſoner at the Battel of the* Boyne, *and being* 'brought Priſoner 'to the King, his Majeſty ask'd him, whether the *Iriſh* 'would fight any more? *Yes, Sir*, reply'd *Hamilton, upon my* 'Honour, *I believe they will.* When he pronounc'd the word *Ho-* 'nour, the King look'd wiſtly upon him, and then turn'd about, 'repeating once or twice, *your Honour*; intimating, that what 'he aſſur'd upon his *Honour*, was not to be depended upon, 'ſince he had forfeited that before, by ſiding with *Tyrconnel*. 'And this was all the Rebuke the King gave him for his 'Breach of Truſt. *Hiſtory of K.* William III. Vol. II. p. 188.

himself, and make his Life as short as he pleas'd *: An Opinion, which tho' I would not by any means patronize, yet which is none of my present Business to confute †. Mr. *Temple* had married Mademoiselle *Du Plessis Rambouillet*, a rich *French* Lady, of great Piety and Virtue; who had by him two Daughters, to whom Sir *William* bequeath'd the Bulk of his Estate; but with this express Condition, That they should not marry *Frenchmen*: A Nation to whom Sir *William* ever bore a general Hatred, upon account of their Imperiousness and Arrogance, with respect to Foreigners, very ill-suiting with their *Servile Dependance* at Home; and against whom he had a particular Grudge ever since his Disputes with *Du Moulin* and *Du Cros*.

I shall not mention any other Particulars relating to Sir *William Temple*, for my Design is to represent and record his *publick*, not his *private Life*; and to avoid what I ever accounted a Fault in *Biographers*, the raking into *minute Domestick Passages*, and exposing *Privacies* to publick View. Nor shall I here draw a *formal Character* of Sir *William Temple*: Any intelligent Reader will, from the Account of his *Life* and *Writings*, readily form to himself the *Idea* of an *accomplish'd Gentleman*, a *sound Politician*, a *Patriot*, and a *great Scholar*; and if this great *Idea* should, perchance, be shaded by some Touches of *Vanity* and *Spleen*, he will be so candid as to consider, that the greatest, the wisest, and the best of Men have still some Failings and Imperfections, which are inseparable from human Nature.

As for his Person, his Stature was above the middle Size, well-set and well-shap'd; his Hair Chest-

* *See Mr.* Collier's Preface *to the Emperor* Marcus Antoninus's *Conversation with himself*, &c.

† Advorsumne illum causam dicerem,
Cui veneram advocatus? *Terent. Adel.* Act. iv. Sc. v.

nut

nut brown; his Face Oval; a large Forehead; a quick piercing Eye; a Sedate and Philoſophical Look. He died towards the end of the Year 1700. at *Moor-Park*, near *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where, according to his expreſs Directions in his Will, his Heart was buried in a Silver-Box, under the Sun-Dial in his Garden, oppoſite to the Window, from whence he us'd to contemplate and admire the Works of Nature, with his intirely-beloved Siſter, the ingenious Lady * *Giffard*: who, as ſhe ſhar'd and eas'd the Fatigues of his Voyages and Travels during his publick Employments, ſo was ſhe the chief Delight and Comfort of his Retirement and Old Age.

Not long after his Death, Mr. *Jonathan Swift*, then Domeſtick Chaplain to the Earl of *Berkley*, one of the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, and who had liv'd many Years in Sir *William Temple*'s Family, in the Quality of an *Amanuenſis*, publiſh'd *Two Volumes* of his LETTERS, *Containing an Account of the moſt important Tranſactions that paſs'd in Chriſtendom, from* 1665 to 1672; and which, according to the *Title-Page*, were *reviewed by Sir* William Temple *ſome time before his Death*. Theſe Letters were inſcrib'd to King *William*, as follows:

To his moſt ſacred Majeſty WILLIAM III. *King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *&c. Theſe Letters of Sir* W. Temple *having been left to my Care, they are moſt humbly preſented to your* MAJESTY, *by your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and obedient Subject*, Jonathan Swift.

The *Publiſher*, in his *Epiſtle to the Reader*, acquaints us, 'That this Collection is owing to the Diligence 'of Mr. *Thomas Downton*, who was one of Sir *Wil-* 'liam *Temple*'s Secretaries, during the whole time 'they bear Date; and that he found the Book a-

* N. B. *Her Name was miſprinted above*, p. 382. l. 33.

'mong Sir *William Temple*'s Papers, with many o-'thers, wherewith he had the Opportunity of be-'ing long converſant, having paſs'd ſeveral Years 'in his Family.' *It is generally believ'd,* ſays the Editor, *that this Author has advanc'd our* Engliſh *Tongue to as great a Perfection as it can well bear; and yet, how great a Maſter he was of it, has, I think, never appear'd ſo much as it will in the following Letters; wherein the Stile appears ſo very different, according to the difference of the Perſons to whom they were addreſs'd, either Men of Buſineſs, or Idle; of Pleaſure, or ſerious; of great, or of leſs Parts or Abilities in their ſeveral Stations: So that one may diſcover the Characters of moſt of thoſe Perſons he writes to, from the Stile of his Letters. At the end of each Volume is added a Collection, copy'd by the ſame Hand, of ſeveral Letters to this Ambaſſador, from the chief Perſons employ'd, either at Home or Abroad in theſe Tranſactions, and during ſix Years courſe of his Negotiations. Among which are many from Penſionary* John de Witt, *and all the Writings of this kind, that I know of, which remain of that Miniſter ſo renown'd in his time. It has been juſtly complain'd of, as a Defect among us, that the* Engliſh *Tongue has produc'd no Letters of any value; to ſupply which, it has been the Vein of late Years, to tranſlate ſeveral out of other Languages, tho, I think, with little ſucceſs. Yet among many Advantages which might recommend this ſort of Writing, it is certain, that nothing is ſo capable of giving a true Account of Story, as Letters are; which deſcribe Actions, while they are alive and breathing; whereas all other Relations are of Actions paſt and dead: So as it has been obſerv'd, that the Epiſtles of* Cicero *to* Atticus, *give a better Account of thoſe times, than is to be found in any other Writer.——The Author had frequent Inſtances from ſeveral great Perſons both at Home and Abroad, to publiſh ſome Memoirs of thoſe Affairs and Tranſactions, which are the Subject of theſe* Letters: *but*

but his uſual Anſwer was, that whatever Memoirs *he had written of thoſe Times and Negotiations, were burnt; however, that perhaps after his Death, ſome Papers might come out, wherein there would be ſome Account of them: By which he meant theſe Letters.*

The *Publiſher* declares, 'He pretends no other 'part, than the Care, that Mr. *Downton*'s Book 'ſhould be tranſcrib'd, and the Letters plac'd in 'the Order they were writ. That he had alſo 'made ſome literal Amendments, eſpecially in the '*Latin*, *French* and *Spaniſh*; which he had taken 'care ſhould be tranſlated and printed in another 'Column, for the uſe of ſuch Readers as may be un-'acquainted with the Originals. And that what-'ever Faults there may be in the *Tranſlation* of the '*French* and *Latin*, he doubts, he muſt anſwer for 'the greater part; and muſt leave the reſt to thoſe 'Friends who were pleas'd to aſſiſt him.' Since Dr. *Swift* had the Modeſty to make this anticipated Apology for the *Faults* in the *Tranſlation*, which, indeed, are many, and ſome of them very groſs; it would be ungenerous to bear too hard upon him upon that ſcore. There is an Error, in particular, which I would not, by any means, charge upon the Doctor; and that is, the miſtaking the *Land-Lady* * for the *Land-Lady's Daughter*; a miſtake, I'm ſure, he could never be guilty of.

In the Year 1703, Dr. *Swift* publiſh'd Sir *William Temple*'s LETTERS *to the King* (Charles II.) *the Prince of* Orange, *the chief Miniſters of State, and other Perſons; being the* Third *and laſt* Volume. *Theſe Papers*, ſays the Editor in his Preface, *are the laſt of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the Author ever gave me his particular Commands. They were corrected by himſelf, and fairly tranſcrib'd in his Life-time. I*

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 17. l. 3.

have

have in all things follow'd his Directions as ſtrictly as I could; but Accidents unforeſeen having ſince intervened, I have thought convenient to leſſen the Bulk of this Volume. *To which end I have omitted ſeveral* Letters *addreſs'd to Perſons with whom this* Author *correſponded, without any particular Confidence, farther than upon Account of their Poſts; becauſe great numbers of ſuch* Letters, *procured out of the Office; or, by other means (how juſtifiable, I ſhall not examine) have been already* printed: *but running wholly upon long dry Subjects of Buſineſs, have met no other Reputation than merely what the Reputation of the* Author *would give them. If I could have foreſeen an end of this Trade, I ſhould, upon ſome Conſiderations, have longer forborn ſending theſe into the* World. *But I daily hear, that new Diſcoveries of Original* Letters *are haſting to the* Preſs; *to ſtop the Current of which, I am forc'd to an earlier Publication than I deſign'd. And therefore I take this Occaſion to inform the Reader, that theſe Letters ending with the* Author's *Revocation from his Employments Abroad, (which in leſs than two Years was follow'd from all Publick Buſineſs) are the laſt he ever intended for the* Preſs; *having been ſelected by himſelf from great numbers yet lying among his Papers.* By this Preface it appears, that the *Third Volume* of Sir *William Temple*'s Letters were the *laſt Papers* of any kind, about which Dr. *Swift* had Sir *William*'s *particular Commands*; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd, if the Lady *Giffard* took ill at his Hands, his publiſhing the *Third Part* of the Memoirs before-mention'd, without her Conſent.

Before I conclude, I think it proper to take notice of two Objections that have been made againſt Sir *William Temple*'s Writings; firſt, as to the Style, 'That he affects the uſe of *French* words, as 'well as ſome Turns of Expreſſion peculiar to that 'Language: Next, that his Works are full of *Inac-*

'*curacies*

'*curacies* and Miſtakes.' The firſt Objection has already been anſwer'd by the *Editor* of his Letters and other his *Poſthumous* Works; who, in the Preface to the *Third Part* of Sir *William*'s Memoirs, tells us, 'It is to be conſider'd, that at the Treaty of *Nimeguen* all Buſineſs, either by Writing or Diſcourſe, 'paſs'd in the *French* Tongue; and the Author 'having liv'd ſo many Years Abroad in that and 'former Embaſſies, where all Buſineſs, as well as 'Converſation ran in that Language, it was hardly 'poſſible for him to write upon Publick Affairs 'without ſome Tincture of it in his Style, tho in 'his other Writings, there be little or nothing of 'it to be obſerv'd. And as it was a thing he 'never affected, ſo upon the Objections made to 'his former Memoirs, he blotted out ſome *French* 'words in theſe, and plac'd *Engliſh* in their ſtead, 'tho perhaps not ſo ſignificant.' To this I ſhall only add, that bating a few * Expreſſions which ſeem to border too much upon the *French*, Sir *William Temple* deſerves to be rank'd among the *firſt Refiners* and *great Maſters* of the *Engliſh Tongue*. As for the *Inaccuracies* which ſome charge upon Sir *William Temple*, they are for the moſt part the Blunders of the Printer, or the Miſtakes of the *Editor* †. However, as *Humanum eſt errare*, ſo it cannot be deny'd that ſome *Negligences* have eſcap'd Sir *William Temple*. The moſt material is his *In-*

* *Such as* Sufficient *for* Self-conceited, *and* Sufficiency *for* Self-Conceit: *To* defend *for* to prohibit, *and* Defence *for* Prohibition; Rapport *for* Relation; to reſpire, *for* to breathe; To arrive *for* to happen: Untreatable *for* Untractable; proned *for* cry'd up; to roll upon, *for* to turn upon; banded *for* combin'd.

† *Such as*, Labienus *for* Ligarius. *Miſcel.* Part II. p. 313. Nicias *for* Lyſias, *Miſcel.* Part III. p. 208, *&c.*

Sr John Temple Shows plainly the Introduction
was so nice as himself can Succeed his Uncle
was right in Sticking Both to the Duke &

by his own Words, that he never knew either of Essex, Sunderland & Hallifax, meant too for he never was the LIFE of, &c. translated

troduction to the History of *England*, p. 67. where instead of saying that *Pope* Boniface *sent* Austin *the Monk to preach the Gospel in* England, he should have said * Pope *Gregory the Great*.

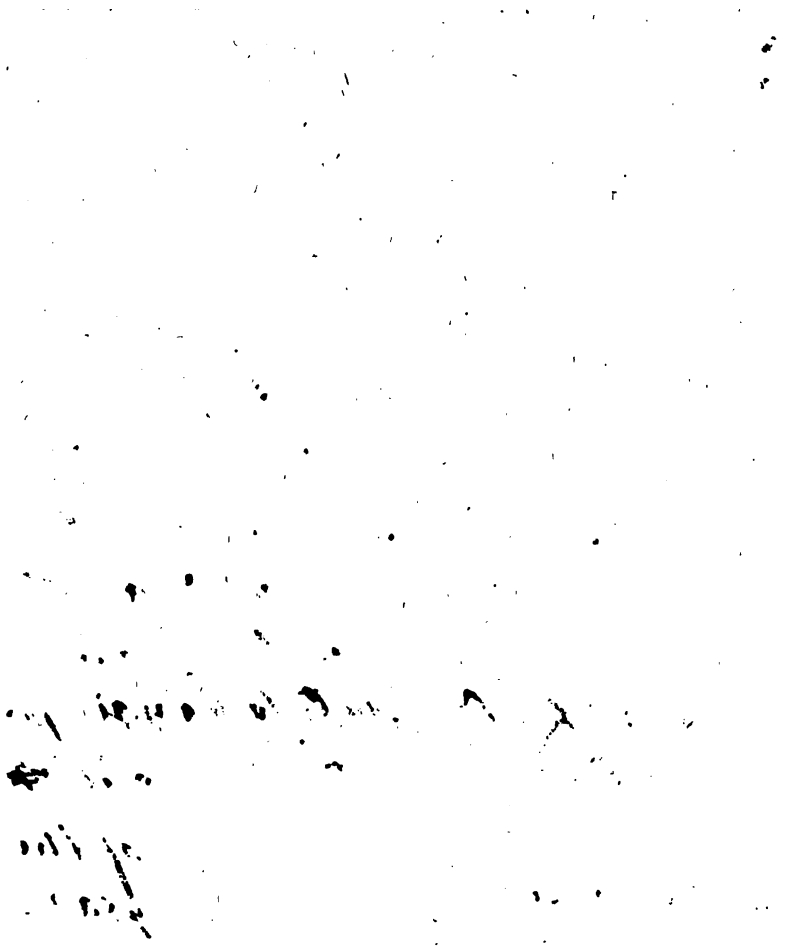
* *See* Maimbourg's *Hist. of that Pope.* Paris *Edit.* in Quarto, p. 197.

the second by them or the King he did right to retire home to his Gardens, Cubbe

FINIS.

has taught all Ministers of State, never to slip the first Opportunity of getting the Secretary's Office in a Country or Council that is given so much to change for he would say it could be never worse than English three to gether

of the years



In France y Peasants have no Land p. 205
p. Wm Temple in p. 305 was in y H Commons
but never knew y turn of Affairs, L. Sunderland
too hard for him